The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1887.

The Week.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S first message to the Fiftieth Congress is the most courageous document that has been sent from the Executive Mansion since the close of the war. It addresses itself to the abnormal condition of the public finances, the excessive and oppressive taxation of the people, to the needless withdrawal of money from business channels, ever leading up to the muzzle of a financial crisis, to the efforts made by the Treasury to avert that evil by temporary and doubtful expedients, to the corrupting influence of a surplus of money in the public coffers, and to the whole train of evil consequences resulting from excessive and unnecessary taxation. The plain remedy for this dangerous condition of the national finances is the reduction of taxes to the measure of the public needs. Instead of dodging and ducking and apologizing for the truth which he delivers, the President puts it not offensively, yet in the most downright position before Congress and the country. He tells them that the present tariff is a delusion and a fraud, that it is a menace to all business interests, and that the public finances cannot be carried on without extensive reductions of the revenue, which must be made either by the repeal of taxes on intoxicating liquors and tobacco, or by the reduction of duties on imports.

That the reduction should be made on articles of necessity and not on luxuries, and especially hurtful luxuries, he proceeds to show in the most candid manner. No editorial treatment can add to the plainness of speech which the President allows himself in this discussion. In fact, he lays down a platform for the next national campaign as clean cut as any high-tariff politician could possibly desire. There has been much lamentation in Republican circles of late that the Democrats were "dodging the issue," not coming out squarely, beating about the bush, etc., etc. No such charge will be made against the President. We shall see in due time whether his party sustain him. We have no doubt that they will. Mr. Randall and his handful, who have fought every change in the tariff, large or small, may now go over to the enemy. There is no more room for them in any party which sustains Mr. Cleveland. The message deals with nothing but the public finances and the means of bringing about an equilibrium between receipts and expenses. This is unusual, but under the circumstances entirely wise. In order to make the deepest impression on the public mind concerning the most important if not the only important topic of public concern, it was necessary to present that subject without entanglements. The gun that has been fired will be heard in every corner and hamlet of the country. It will be the subject of village debate and neighborhood meditation. It will compel public discussion in Congress. It will supply parties with an issue that they have long needed. It will clear the atmosphere of a vast amount of malaria, and give people something to think about that bears relation to their daily life. For this, if for nothing else, the President is entitled to hearty thanks. For his splendid courage in "taking the bull by the horns" he will win the praise of all who admire manliness and straightforwardness in public station, whether they approve his views or not. Such an example of plain speaking will not fail of its reward at the hands of a self-reliant and free people.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court sustaining the validity of the prohibition laws of Kansas is of far-reaching importance. It applies not merely to Kansas, but to prohibition legislation in all the States. The opponents of prohibitory laws have based their opposition in the courts mainly upon two grounds: (1.) That while the State could regulate the sale of liquor without invading the constitutional rights of the citizen, it had not the right to prohibit any person from manufacturing liquor for his own use or for export. (2.) That since many breweries and other liquor manufactories had been erected prior to the enactment of prohibitory laws, and since such establishments would become of no value as property, or be very materially diminished in value, if not employed in the manufacturing of liquor, the prohibition of such manufacture by the State is in effect a taking of property for public use without compensation and without due process of law, and, therefore, unconstitutional. It is only a few years since John Bright, in discussing this latter point in an address in England, denounced prohibition without compensation to property thus injured as "legislation by hurricane."

On both these grounds the Supreme Court decides squarely in favor of the Prohibitionists. It holds, in regard to the right of the State to prohibit manufacture, that there is no justification for the charge that in exercising that power it is interfering with the right of each citizen to manufacture intoxicating liquors for his own use as a beverage, since such a right does not inhere in citizenship. If a State deems the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale, within her limits, of intoxicating liquors for other than medical, scientific, and manufacturing purposes to be necessary to the peace and security of society, the courts cannot, without usurping legislative functions, override the will of the people as thus expressed by their chosen representatives. On the point of injury to property, the decision is equally explicit. It is held that all property under our form of government is subject to the obligation that it shall not be used so as to affect injuriously the rights of the community and thereby become a nuisance. The State of Kansas had a right to prohibit the liquor traffic. It did not thereby take away the property of the brewers. It simply abated a nuisance. The property is not taken away from its owners; they are only prohibited from using it for a specific purpose which the Legislature declared to be injurious to the community.

At the Prohibition Convention in Chicago last week a resolution that had been previously passed by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was ratified by unanimous vote. This resolution was in two parts. The first clause "solemnly urges upon all political parties and partisan papers the duty of avoiding in the pending Presidential campaign the personal vilification and abuse that characterized the last." The second declares "that war issues are dead, and that the land should have rest from reviving them for campaign purposes." The spirit of both is commendable, and we would not say a word in derogation of the motives which prompted the Convention to bear testimony in behalf of temperance of language as well as of drink. But it is obvious that no reform can be effected in the former direction unless we know what is meant by "personal vilification." To take one case by way of illustration: Editor Clarkson believed that Mr. St. John, the Prohibition nominee for President, tried to sell out his candidacy to the Republican National Committee for $20,000. Clarkson was a member of this Committee, and conducted the negotiation on that side. We will not undertake to say whether the proofs he offered were sufficient to convict St. John. That he believed them to be so is very clear. Now, the question is whether Editor Clarkson indulged in "personal vilification" of St. John, and whether, in case St. John should be renominated and Editor Clarkson should repeat his charges and bring up his proofs, he would fall under the condemnation of this resolution.

In truth the remonstrance has the air of being a preparation for the reappearance of that great "ladies' man," James G. Blaine. Of course "personal vilification and abuse" are to be avoided, if possible, in all political contests; but whether they can be avoided or not depends on the nature of the objections to a candidate. If these objections are simply political, of course the abuse and vilification heaped on him by his opponents ought to be political only; but if they are personal, the abuse and vilification have to be personal. If an objection to a candidate, for instance, was that he was a thief and a liar, it would be ridiculous to assail him simply on account of his views on the tariff or the liquor question. The best and only remedy we know of for the evil of which these ladies complain, is the careful avoidance by conventions of the nomination of candidates whose personal character is bad, or who are likely to be assailed by charges against them as men, because neither the press nor the people will

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ever be persuaded to keep silent about a candidate's private history through fear of using bad language, or, as Senator Sumner said, "muddying the current of debate."

Republican organs have been making a great ado over the fact that the Republican organization in the South broke down after its managers lost their Federal offices, and that consequently few Republican votes were cast in the Congressional elections of 1886 outside of Virginia and two or three other States. It has been loudly asserted that the only reason why there were so few Republican votes was because the Republican blacks were kept from voting by the Democratic whites, and it has been vehemently declared that the small Republican vote was proof positive of Democratic intimidation or fraud. We invite the attention of people who have been taken in by this sort of talk to the returns of the recent election in four counties of Virginia, as contrasted with the vote in the same counties at the Presidential election of 1884, preceding the figures for each county with a statement of its population divided according to race:

	Black.	White.	1884.		1887.	
			Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.
Amelia	7,340	3,037	1,048	590	748	
Greensville	5,650	2,757	1,088	540	671	
Nottoway	8,144	3,012	1,277	453	970	
Sussex	6,701	3,361	1,442	750	916	None.

To paraphrase Republican reasoning about the small Republican vote in many Southern Congressional districts last year, it might be asserted that the only reason why there were no Democratic votes in these Virginia counties this year is because the Democratic whites were kept from voting by the much more numerous Republican blacks, and that the absence of any Democratic votes is proof positive of Republican intimidation or fraud. In point of fact, the failure of these Virginia Democrats to vote was due to the failure of the party managers to nominate candidates, just as the failure of Southern Republicans generally to vote last year was due to a similar failure on the part of their managers, who had lost their interest in the Republican party when they lost their offices.

The bill proposed by Senator Palmer of Michigan to restrict immigration seems to be based on two distinct ideas. It provides first that a sum of money shall be paid by every person coming to this country, without reference to his character, his means, or his intentions; and secondly, that steps shall be taken to exclude bad men altogether, and especially Anarchists, Nihilists, and persons hostile to our institutions and form of government. Until the means of ascertaining the Anarchical and Nihilistic character and intentions of the immigrant are set forth by the Senator in detail, it would be premature to criticise them; but we think that something may be said about the tariff on persons concerning whose character no question is raised. Duties are either specific or ad valorem, or partly one and partly the other. A specific duty is levied according to weight or measure, an ad-valorem duty according to value. Since it would be manifestly unfair to tax a heavy man more than a light one for the privilege of coming to this country, or a tall man more than a short one, specific duties are clearly inapplicable. On the other hand, ad-valorem duties are well adapted to the case, because it is possible to estimate in a rough way the value of persons in their character as producers. Thus, a fair schedule would be something like this: Women and children $10 per head, coal miners $15, farmers $20, carpenters $30, weavers $40, glass-blowers $50, and so on, up to clergymen and college professors, who ought to pay not less than $100 each. Some discrimination might be fairly made on the score of age. It would not be right to tax a man upwards of seventy years old as much as one under thirty, because the former cannot expect to enjoy the privileges as long as the latter. By combining age with value it might be possible to have the mixed system of duties enforced, prescribing, for example, that a cabinet-maker between thirty and forty should pay $35, and 50 per cent. additional for his presumed efficiency as a worker, while one who had passed the age of sixty should pay only the rate fixed for his trade. The subject admits of many interesting variations.

The question of Secretary Lamar's age has become an issue. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate has established the rule that it will not report in favor of confirming as a United States judge a man who has passed the age of sixty, inasmuch as the law entitles a judge to retire on full pay "after having held his commission as such at least ten years, and having attained the age of seventy years"—the implication of which provision is, in the Committee's opinion, that no man ought to go on the bench so late in life that he cannot serve ten years before reaching the age of seventy. But as the United States law does not (like the law of New York and some other States) require a man to retire at seventy, and as half of the present eight Supreme Court justices have passed that age, the Senate is never likely to enforce the Committee's rule rigorously, but will confirm a worthy nominee the only objection to whom is that he is past sixty, as it did in the case of Mr. William M. Merrick, who was made Judge of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia in 1885 at the age of sixty-six. At the same time it would be recognized as a valid objection to any man proposed for a seat on the overworked Supreme bench of the United States that he was well on towards seventy, unless he were a miracle of vigor. As Mr. Lamar does not enjoy robust health, his opponents are trying to ruin him as a candidate for Judge by spreading the story that he is sixty-seven years old, and could not be expected long to stand the strain of judicial work. His friends, however, denounce this story as a "campaign lie," and assert that he is only sixty-two. The burden of evidence is decidedly on this side, as he has always given September 17, 1825, as the date of his birth, and the years of his graduation from college and admission to the bar agree with this theory.

It is a curious fact that of late a prejudice against stating their age has grown up on the part of public men who are "getting along in life." During the latter portion of his career, the late Senator Logan sedulously concealed from the compiler of the Congressional Directory the year of his birth, and in every other way sought to hide the fact that if he should run for President in 1888, he would then be almost sixty-nine years old. In like manner Senator Harris of Tennessee, who once made free enough of the fact that he was born in 1818, has for some time past contented himself with saying that he "was born in Franklin County, Tennessee," and rendered it necessary to consult old books of reference to discover the year, the reason being that his present term expires in 1889, when he will be seventy-one, and that he fears knowledge of his age will constitute an objection to his securing the fresh lease of power which he will seek. It is true that Logan knew that Henry Clay ran for President in 1844 at the age of sixty-seven, and was a candidate for the nomination in 1848 at seventy-one, while Harris has seen Ohio elect Payne to the Senate in his seventy-fifth year and Vermont at the same time give another term to Morrill, who is a few months Payne's senior. But Logan and Harris and other Congressmen who follow their example have been right in supposing that great age is held to be an objection to keeping a man in public life in this country much more generally than is the case in England or on the Continent. Probably the strongest influence in producing this state of feeling has been the rule adopted by many States of compelling judges to retire at seventy, and accepted in a modified form by the Federal Government in the provision that a United States judge may accept a life pension at seventy if he has served ten years. It is perhaps a survival of ancient Puritanism that a politician still finds it very effective to quote against an aging opponent the Psalmist's remark that "the days of our years are threescore years and ten," even with such a spectacle as Gladstone to-day presents within a month of completing his seventy-eighth year.

The Anti-Poverty Society is likely to show before the winter is over whether or not it is going to be able to fulfil its mission, which is the abolition of poverty by means of public meetings and collections. The field is about to be widened by the establishment of regular Sunday morning meetings as well as Sunday evening meetings. This has been made necessary by the fact that the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, who is perhaps the most irrational of all the disciples of the new faith, is in need of a pulpit to preach from. His anti-poverty doctrines have so impaired his usefulness as a Christian minister that the question of abolishing poverty is threatening to become a personal one with him, unless he can open a morning anti-poverty entertainment with a regular collection of its

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own. The evening entertainment is barely competent to pay the rent of the Academy at present, and yet the demands upon the collection taken at it are likely to be largely increased during the winter, for Mr. George's paper is already in the throes of dissolution, and Father McGlynn's prospects of getting a living are becoming more and more dubious. The capacity of the Society, therefore, to abolish the poverty of all its leaders, whose income from other sources has been cut off, is about to be put to a severe test.

The New York correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* calls attention to the fact that not a single paper published in this city on Tuesday morning printed the address made by James Russell Lowell at the Authors' Reading the afternoon before. The correspondent ventures the assertion that, "if these entertainments had taken place in London, the leading morning newspapers in that city would have had every word he uttered." Of course they would have had, and they would have had it because the conductors of the London papers would have reasoned, correctly, that a large proportion of their readers were interested in every word which such a man had to say on a topic of such importance. It is equally true that a large proportion of the readers of such papers as the *Tribune* and *Times* in this city wanted a verbatim report of Mr. Lowell's speech, and were disappointed when they failed to find it. There was a time when the *Tribune* could have been depended upon for it, for it used to give special attention to matters of concern to intelligent readers. The paper's prejudice against Mr Lowell as a Mugwump may have had something to do with its cutting down its report of his speech to a single paragraph, but the performance was only an aggravated illustration of a tendency to depreciate purely literary matters which has long been noticeable in the *Tribune*—although we are glad to say that of late there have been some signs of a change for the better. Even the *Times*, which had no conceivable motive, either political or personal, for slighting the speaker, could not afford the space for a full report.

The humiliating confession must be made that the press of almost any other large city in this country would have done better in such a matter than the New York papers did. If the entertainment had taken place in Boston, or Philadelphia, or Chicago, or St. Louis, it would have been possible next morning to find an exact report of Mr. Lowell's address in some at least of the papers. Indeed, if he had delivered it in some distant American city—better still, if he had delivered it in London, so that it would have cost a good deal to telegraph it—very likely some New York paper would have got it, and then crowed loudly over its enterprise. The reason why it was not published under the actual circumstances of its delivery was, of course, the same reason which has demoralized the morning papers of New York in so many ways, because the managers hold that the public wants "spicy" things and does not want serious things, even when characterized by the incisive style and relieved by the delightful humor of our first essayist. It is the competition for the patronage of the illiterate which has brought even the best of our papers to the point where they "cannot afford the space" for one of the too rare utterances of James Russell Lowell. The best thing about the *Herald's* recent raising of its price is the hope which it holds out that a reaction has at last set in, and that newspaper conductors may again provide such matter as intelligent persons want and are ready to pay a decent price to get.

The conflict between President Grévy and the Chambers continued last week with what may be called varying fortune. He changed his mind about resigning three or four times. Nothing could better illustrate the fickleness of the public with whom he has had to deal in Paris than the support he received in refusing to resign from the street Radicals, who had just been threatening to attack the Élysée if he did not resign. What wrought the change was, comically enough, the fear that Ferry, the author of the Tonquin expedition and the pet aversion of the Radicals, would be elected in his stead. The last excuse he made for holding on was that the Chambers had not spoken out on the subject with sufficient clearness. This difficulty was removed by the vote of the Chamber, 531 to 3, that it was waiting for his promised communication. The deposition of the President by the Chambers, with the aid of street mobs, is wholly unconstitutional. When it first began to be talked of as among the possibilities, the *Temps*, the most moderate and clear-headed of the Republican papers, declared that "it would be equivalent to an overturning of the Constitution, which has fixed the duration of the executive power, and which does not authorize the Republican Deputies to assemble *en famille*, and either depose the President or invite him to quit." And it asked with great force, "With what authority, after having given this beautiful example of contempt for the laws, can the main body of the Republican party enter on its campaign against the revolutionists of the extreme Left and Right?"

The immense advantage that the republic has over any other form of government in France is shown by the small fear there was of anything like revolutionary violence. If a "dynasty" had been lodged in the Élysée, everybody would have been trembling with apprehension, because nobody would have had the smallest idea what would happen after the existing rulers had been driven out. The fidelity of the army even would have been doubted, and the howling mob in the streets have had the secret sympathy of all who hated privileged classes and courts and "royal families." But if one may judge from the Bourse, there was no fear of revolution at all. Everybody knew what would happen when Grévy resigned. The army and the police were perfectly relentless in repressing disorder, knowing that they were not doing it to keep any individual or family in a fat place.

The election of M. Sadi-Carnot as President, and the immediate subsidence of popular excitement, indicate, as nothing else could, the degree of solidity that the republic, as a form of government, has gained in the past seventeen years. In the turmoil of the past two or three weeks, the Bonapartists have been scarcely discerned as a political factor in France. Prince Napoleon issued a manifesto, but it was deemed of no more consequence than the mumblement of a Roman augur over the entrails of a sacrificial bullock. Bonapartism is, to all appearance, as dead in France as Cæsarism is in Rome. The monarchists showed a better front, but it was evident from the beginning that they had no hope except in the discords of the Republican groups. When these discords were allayed, the adherents of the Count of Paris sank to a hopeless, although still respectable, minority. The value of this peaceful devolution of the Presidency from one Republican chief to another is very great, since it betokens the existence of a settled idea and plan of government in France. It is perhaps too soon to say that the day of experiment has wholly passed, but it is certain that the republic is on a firmer foundation by reason of the peril so lately faced and surmounted.

The difficulty of governing Ireland on two different theories is well illustrated by the talk of the English press about the reception given to Hartington and Goschen in Dublin and Chamberlain in Belfast. The law and the Constitution say that the Irish members in the House of Commons represent the Irish people, and are the only proper exponents of their feelings and wishes. But as 86 out of 106 of these hold opinions which are obnoxious to the majority in Parliament, the country is governed and discussed on the theory that the Irish representatives do not represent the Irish people, but that the real Ireland of politics is composed of the few thousand persons who went to hear Lord Hartington in Dublin and those who went to hear Mr. Chamberlain in Belfast. In fact, an article in the *Spectator* recently spoke of "those who welcomed Mr. Chamberlain in Belfast" as if they were a powerful body recognized by the Constitution and entitled to be heard in preference to the Irish representation in Parliament. Of course the Hartington meeting in Dublin, consisting, it is said, of 8,000 persons belonging to the professional and mercantile classes, would be a most important event if it was anywhere provided that Ireland was to be governed by the professional and mercantile classes of Dublin, or, in other words, that the merchants, and bankers, and lawyers, or such of them as were Unionists, were what the French call the "legal country." But inasmuch as these classes are in a hopeless minority in politics, the importance attached to them is, under the present British Constitution, a complete absurdity.

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SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, November 30, to TUESDAY, December 6, 1887, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S message, read to Congress Tuesday, is the shortest delivered for years, and is devoted entirely to a consideration of the tariff, urging strongly the reduction of the surplus by the reduction of the tariff rather than by the repeal of internal-revenue taxes.

The President sent to the Senate, Tuesday, the nominations of Secretary Lamar to be Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, of William F. Vilas to be Secretary of the Interior, and of Don M. Dickinson of Michigan to be Postmaster-General.

The caucus of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives Saturday night, December 3, nominated John G. Carlisle for Speaker, Gen. J. B. Clarke of Missouri for Clerk, J. P. Leedom of Ohio for Sergeant-at-Arms, and A. B. Hurt of Mississippi for Doorkeeper. There were five candidates for Doorkeeper, and during the nominating speeches Congressmen Breckenridge of Arkansas and Blount of Missouri came to blows that drew blood on both sides.

The Democratic Senators were in caucus Saturday, but after a session lasting about three hours they went home, leaving as before the situation regarding the seating of Messrs. Turpie of Indiana and Faulkner of West Virginia.

Congress organized on Monday, December 5. There was no deadlock in the Senate as had been expected, the Republicans not objecting to the admission of the two new Senators above named. Mr. Hoar urged that the case of Faulkner, in which there are two sets of credentials, be referred to a committee.

The Supreme Court at Washington has decided the Kansas prohibition cases, sustaining the right of a State, under its "police power," to suppress the manufacture of liquor and the liquor traffic within its limits, without making any compensation to the distiller or liquor-dealer for the value of the property destroyed by such State action.

The Supreme Court has sustained the position of the Virginia officials who were imprisoned by the United States Circuit Court for disobedience to a restraining order which forbade them to bring suits for the collection of taxes, in cases where tenders have been made by tax-receivable coupons cut from the State bonds. The Court orders the release of the officers, and declares that a State, as a political sovereignty, cannot be sued or coerced in the Federal courts.

A question was recently raised at the Treasury Department in regard to the liability to seizure of drawings and paintings executed abroad by members of the "Art Classes for Art Study at Home," and sent to the instructor in this country for criticism. The Department has decided that such articles, if imported by mail, will be liable to seizure, but not otherwise. The Department has sustained the appeal of the Judges of the Appellate Court, First District of Illinois, from the decision of the Collector of Customs at Chicago, assessing duty on certain books imported for the library of said court and claimed to be exempt from duty.

The annual report of Postmaster-General Vilas says it may be fairly affirmed that from the beginning of the current fiscal year the postal service has again become substantially self-sustaining, and the prediction may be ventured that if the revenues be not further crippled and only a similar ratio of increasing expenditure be held, the next fiscal year will yield a surplus, which should, under the same conditions, annually increase. "The time is not far distant when the rate of charges upon letters can be properly lowered to one cent an ounce, and some reduction be permitted in the postage upon merchandise and other matter."

The Commissioner of Agriculture, in his annual report, recommends substantially the abolition of the seed division of the Department, and the transfer of its duties to the State and Territorial experiment stations.

The Pacific Railway Commission has filed two reports, a majority report, signed by Commissioners Anderson and Littler, recommending an extension of the Government's second mortgage on the property, but upon conditions that will insure payment in full; and a minority report, by Commissioner Pattison, recommending the payment of a lump sum representing the present value of the Government's claim.

The increase in the public debt in November was $1,490,350.99.

The Republican National Committee will meet at Washington on December 8, to fix the place of the next National Convention. Eight cities, at least, want the Convention and will have lobbies on hand to urge their claims.

The deadlock in the Council of the Indian Territory was broken Wednesday. The Nationalists stole a march on the Downing party and captured the organization of the Senate. Lacey Hawkins, a full-blooded Cherokee, was elected President of the Senate, and the clerks and other officers were also selected from the Nationalist party.

The Republicans of Boston have nominated T. N. Hart for Mayor, and N. J. Bradlee, the citizens' candidate, has withdrawn. The Democrats have renominated Mayor O'Brien.

Gov. Beaver of Pennsylvania has appointed a commission to make inquiry and report on the subject of industrial education in the State. President Fetterolf of Girard College is a member of the Commission.

The New York Chamber of Commerce on December 1 adopted resolutions favoring "any arrangement for enlarged commercial relations between Canada and the United States which shall seem to the two contracting parties fair and just, and which may contribute to the settlement" of the fisheries question, and suggesting arbitration for any irreconcilable differences that may arise.

The New York Local Committee on Harvard Examinations for Women have decided that it is now desirable and necessary to have a scholarship fund to help deserving women through college. They ask contributions towards a fund of $3,000, which will furnish $150 a year for that purpose.

The jury which has been trying John Most in the Court of General Sessions for using incendiary language at a meeting in Kramer's Hall on the night of November 12, returned a verdict of guilty Tuesday night. They had been absent over four hours, and the verdict was the result of many ballots, on the first of which there was a majority for acquittal. Most's counsel declared that the conviction was brought about by the introduction in evidence of the prisoner's book on explosives, and he asked for a day to argue a motion for a new trial. This will be heard on Thursday.

The members of the Belleville Avenue Congregational Church in Newark have voted, 139 to 84, that the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost should remain in charge of the church. A resolution was passed that the action of the church did not mean that the congregation approved the views of the pastor upon land taxation or the hanging of the Anarchists, but only that they agreed with him in his religious belief.

The Socialistic element in the Knights of Labor at Chicago have revolted from Powderly again and have reissued the usual batch of charges.

A decision in favor of Massachusetts in the suit of the Commonwealth vs. Western Union Telegraph Company, to recover $10,000 taxes imposed in 1886, has been rendered at Boston. The Western Union Company appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. It is fighting the tax collector in other States, and the final decision of this case will be awaited with interest.

The Strobridge Lithographing Company's building in Cincinnati was burned down on Thursday; loss $250,000 or upwards. This was the largest theatrical printing-house in the country, and many travelling theatrical companies have lost their colored bills for the season.

The situation of the burning Calumet and Hecla mines is growing very serious. Carbonic-acid gas and steam are now being sent down two shafts of the Calumet and two shafts of the Hecla mines. There is talk of flooding the mine with water, but this will not be done until all other measures fail.

Jacob Sharp was released from custody December 1, on $40,000 bail bonds, and went to his home. He appeared in court, but seemed very feeble.

The Harvard Freshmen have declined the challenge of the Yale Freshmen for a boat-race next summer.

The portrait of George Bancroft presented by himself to Cornell University was unveiled December 1. The lecture-room of Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, where the exercises took place, was filled with Faculty and undergraduates, with a considerable delegation from the Sage College for Women. On a table to the right of the platform stood the twelve volumes of Mr. Bancroft's history, and on the left on a large easel was the historian's portrait. Prof. Tyler and President White spoke.

The Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker of London met the Beecher Memorial Fund Committee December 1, and explained that the trouble with regard to his payment for the delivery of the Beecher eulogy arose from a misapprehension on his part, he having supposed that the arrangements for his proposed visit in June held good for his actual visit in October. The Committee expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied, and adopted a resolution exonerating Dr. Parker from all blame, returning him thanks for the eulogy, and declaring that he had conducted himself as an honorable gentleman and a Christian teacher.

The official majority against prohibition in Atlanta, Ga., is 1,128.

The Syracuse *Daily Courier* and the *Daily Standard* have raised the price of their papers from two to three cents a copy.

Brig.-Gen. William Hemsley Emory, who retired from active military service in 1876, died in Washington December 1. He performed distinguished service during the war, was twice thanked on the field at Hanover Court-house, and had charge of the defences of New Orleans in 1863.

Algernon S. Sullivan, a prominent New York lawyer, died Sunday night, aged sixty. He was the son of an Indiana judge, and came to New York in 1859. He had been Assistant District Attorney and public prosecutor, a prominent member of many clubs, and was known as a Democratic campaign speaker.

John C. Work, one of the old merchants of New York, died Tuesday afternoon, in the eightieth year of his age.

FOREIGN.

President Grévy of France declined to resign December 1, as he had announced, but did resign the next day, and on Saturday, after two days of excitement, in which an outbreak of the mob was feared at any moment, Sadi-Carnot was elected his successor. The Republicans held a caucus at Versailles

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that morning, at which Ferry led. The fear of a Parisian riot if he was elected is said to have driven the other factions to unite upon Sadi-Carnot. The balloting for the election of a President began at 2:15 P. M. At 4:15 P. M. the ballot closed, and on motion of President Le Royer the Congress adjourned until 4:45. The result of the first ballot was: M. Sadi-Carnot, 303; M. Ferry, 212; Gen. Saussier, 148; M. de Freycinet, 76; Gen. Appert, 72; M. Brisson, 26; M. Floquet, 5; other candidates, 7. Total vote, 849. Before the second ballot was taken, the members of the Left groups held a meeting. M. Ferry announced his resolution to withdraw in favor of M. Sadi-Carnot, and M. de Freycinet tendered a similar notification. The final ballot stood: M. Sadi-Carnot, 616; Gen. Saussier, 186; M. Ferry, 11; M. de Freycinet, 5; Gen. Appert, 5, and M. Pyot, 1.

The text of M. Grévy's message of resignation, read December 2, is as follows: "So long as I had only to contend with the difficulties that have accumulated in my path, the attacks of the press, the abstention of the men whom the public voice called to my side, and the increasing impossibility to form a Ministry, I struggled on and remained where duty bade me. But at the moment when public opinion, better informed, marked a change which gave me hope of forming a government, the Senate and Chamber of Deputies voted a double resolution which, under the form of an adjournment to a fixed hour to await the President's promised message, is tantamount to summoning the President to resign. It would be my duty and right to resist, but under the circumstances in which we are placed, a conflict between the Executive and Parliament might entail consequences which restrain me. Wisdom and patriotism command me to yield." The Deputies received the message with profound silence.

Since the army surgeons brought to notice the frequency of diphtheria in the French Army, particularly among cavalry regiments, Dr. Longuet has studied the subject, and in a paper read before the Academy of Medicine he has arrived at the following conclusion as to the etiology of the disease: "It is incontestable that not only in the French Army, but in the German Army, the cavalry, though less numerous than the infantry, furnishes three times more cases of diphtheria. It is equally certain that at Paris, for example, the most active foci of this cruel malady are, on the one hand, the largest of the cavalry barracks, and, on the other, a hospital situated near one of the largest stables."

Lord Lyons, British Minister at Washington from 1858 to 1865, and at Paris from 1867 till he was made an earl a few weeks ago, died December 5, aged seventy. His official career extended over fifty years. He succeeded in 1858 to the title of his father, the first Lord Lyons, who commanded the British fleet in the Black Sea in 1855–56.

Despite the order to the press of Russia not to attack Germany, the newspapers continue to print hostile criticisms on the disclosures made regarding the interview between the Czar and Prince Bismarck. They say that if Bismarck is correct in stating that Russian officials misled the Czar, all such officials should be dismissed; and on the other hand, if the statement is untrue or is not proved, the German Ambassador ought immediately to receive his passport.

An official bulletin issued December 1 says: "The local affection in the Crown Prince's throat does not appear to be extending. There is no difficulty of respiration or in swallowing, and the general functions of the body continue perfect." There is small hope, however, of the Crown Prince's recovery, and Queen Victoria will visit San Remo in January for a prolonged stay.

All the members of the Austrian Reichsrath who are school-teachers have been ordered to give up their school duties for the whole period for which they have been elected to the Reichsrath, on the ground that education and politics should be kept separate.

In the Hungarian Unterhaus November 30, Deputy Polonyi asked as to the truth of the report that valuable pictures by Raphael, Dürer, Rembrandt, and others were missing from the Esterházy Gallery, and that antiquities from the National Museum had been replaced with worthless imitations. The report was found to be untrue.

The Unionist banquet at Dublin, Ireland, on the evening of December 1, was a brilliant affair. The leading merchants and professional men and a number of Catholic Unionists were present. The balconies were crowded with ladies. The toast to the Queen was received with enthusiasm, everybody rising and joining in the singing of the national anthem and "God Bless the Prince of Wales." Mr. Kenny, an eminent Catholic barrister, denounced home rule. Mr. Goschen and Lord Hartington devoted most of their speeches to denying statements of the *Freeman's Journal*

William O'Brien in a letter smuggled from Tullamore Jail to a friend in Dublin, says: "Mr. Balfour's statement that I pleaded weak action of the heart and delicate condition of the lungs as an excuse for not being forced to wear criminal clothes, is a cruel falsehood. If Mr. Balfour is acting on the belief that the state of my health renders the application of brute force dangerous, the course he has pursued could not be recommended on the score of humanity. For six days after committal I was subjected to constant threats of force and put on bread-and-water diet. Since securing new clothes I have been unable to change them night or day, for fear of their being stolen."

Mr. Sexton was unanimously elected, December 2, Lord Mayor of Dublin to succeed Mr. Sullivan. In a speech thanking the corporation for the honor conferred upon him, he said that every day developed new attacks upon the lives and liberties of the Irish people. The Lord Mayor ought to be the unflinching organ of prevalent public opinion.

Mr. Sheehy, member of Parliament, has been arrested, and is now in the Sligo prison. He will be brought before the court at French Park, County Roscommon, for examination on the 15th. The second trial of Lord-Mayor Sullivan, for printing in his paper reports of suppressed branches of the National League, took place December 2, and resulted in a conviction. He was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, but without labor. Timothy Harrington, member of Parliament for the Harbor Division of Dublin, was arrested December 2 in London. He is a brother of Mr. Edward Harrington, member of Parliament, who was arrested at Tralee, County Kerry, December 1. The Harrington brothers are both charged with publishing reports of meetings of suppressed branches of the League in their paper at Tralee, and they will be tried in that town. Mr. Sullivan will be treated in prison as a first-class misdemeanant. He has announced that he will not appeal from the decision of the court, but "will suffer his punishment proudly, as he would if it were ten times greater."

The Most Rev. Daniel McGettigan, D. D., Roman Catholic Archbishop of the Diocese of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, died December 3.

The London *Times* has set spies on Parnell and found him living in Kent under the name of Preston. "A leading Nationalist" says that Mr. Parnell is in a delicate state of health, extremely thin and pale. He had a perfect right to seek repose while Parliament was not sitting. He adds that spies will be set upon the private movements of *Times* writers in retaliation. The spying by the *Times* is condemned by the London press with much unanimity.

Goldwin Smith writes to the London *Times* defending his own consistency on the home-rule question. He says that since he wrote years ago he has seen the Irish in America "trooping blindly to the polls behind a demagogue or priest forming the rank and file of an army of corruption, filling American cities with misgovernment, disorder, and jobbery, swelling the statistics of crime, and reënacting in the Mollie Maguire conspiracies the murderous agrarianism of their own land; trampling on and butchering the unoffending negro, and hunting down the helpless Chinese." He does not think the peculiarities of the race indelible, but strong, and says every statesman should note them. To hand over Ireland to the politicians of New York or Chicago or their mates in the House of Commons, would be the greatest folly and most heinous crime ever deliberately committed by public men.

Mr. Bradlaugh says that if the Government will grant a committee, with power to call for persons, books, and papers, whereon he may sit and examine witnesses, he will undertake to trace several checks paid by leading Tories to get up meetings of the unemployed, preceding the riotous meeting of 1885, including one of Salisbury's, and that Peters received the money. This Peters is a notorious agitator, repudiated by all respectable workmen.

Dean Scott, the great English Greek scholar, and joint author with Dean Liddell of the Greek Lexicon used in colleges, died December 3.

The London *Chronicle* gives a strange account of a trial in Tolax, a village in Malaga, Spain, of some religious fanatics for strange practices. They originally went naked, like Adam and Eve before the fall, but the authorities interposed. Since then they have inflicted wounds upon themselves in imitation of the crucifixion, and burned all their goods, believing a higher power would provide food. A strange part of the affair is that when put on trial they were hypnotized in court by medical specialists—like Irving in "The Bells"—and proved good subjects. It is even alleged that on being ordered to perspire, they broke out in a profuse perspiration. Others were pricked with pins, but gave no sign of pain.

The fastest voyage on record between England and Australia has just been accomplished by the huge steamer *Ormuz* of the Orient Line. She left Suez on the 27th of October, and arrived at King George's Sound eighteen days later, November 14, and landed the mails and passengers in the unprecedented time of twenty-four days from London.

The proposition for a subsidy to an American line of steamers between the United States and the ports of the Argentine Republic, which was so long under consideration by certain Americans, having been accepted by a British line, the flag of the Argentine Republic is to be carried on these ships, and they are to be required to carry eight naval cadets of the republic on every trip.

The Collector of Customs at Amherstburg, Canada, has seized the steam-tug *Bob Anderson*, belonging to Mr. Demars of Detroit, for towing vessels into Canadian ports and not reporting them inward or outward. The vessel has been released on the payment of a deposit of $400, pending the decision of the Department.

The King of Corea will immediately despatch ministers to England, France, Germany, Russia, and America. The consent of China to this arrangement was given with the greatest reluctance. It is believed that Russian agents instigated the King's action. An American man-of-war has already conveyed a minister to Nagasaki.

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A CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMATION OF THE HOUSE.

On the 18th of June, 1886, the Judiciary Committee of the Senate unanimously reported, and the Senate unanimously passed, the amendment to the Constitution which was intended to substitute the 30th of April for the 4th of March. The purpose of the amendment was two-fold: First, that the inauguration of the President should take place at a more propitious season of the year, at a time more conducive to public comfort, convenience, and health; second, to do away with that great bane of our national legislation—the short session of Congress. Great credit belongs to Mr. George F. Hoar, who had charge of the amendment, for the fidelity, ability, and good sense with which he brought it before the Senate and procured its passage. When the amendment went to the House, it was referred, properly, to the Judiciary Committee, with whom it remained, illustrating how completely the public will can be thwarted by the inaction of a committee of Congress. It is true that the Committee intended to report it with an amendment, and it is true that a family bereavement added to the delay; but the fact nevertheless remains that so important a measure as a constitutional amendment, which had passed the other branch of the Legislature with unanimity, and received in an unusual degree the commendation of the public press and of many constitutional students, was defeated by the torpidity of a single committee.

That committee undoubtedly intended to report the amendment, but in the turmoil of the short session it was no easy thing to do. Other committees claimed their share of the closing hours; appropriation bills must be passed; a hundred members shrieked to the Speaker at the same moment, and so the last day of the short session of Congress rolled away with the constitutional amendment still in the hands of the Judiciary Committee. At last, at the hour of noon on the 4th of March, the Speaker's gavel fell, and the House of Representatives of the Forty-ninth Congress fell into its biennial chaos: the Speaker ceased to be Speaker, the members ceased to be members, the term of office of everybody save the Clerk and a few custodians ceased, and the country was left practically without the popular branch of its national Legislature.

While this was the condition of affairs in the House, everything remained serene and undisturbed in the Senate. The President pro tem. continued to occupy the chair: the committees remained existent, and, indeed, organized; the secretaries and officers continued at work; the unfinished diplomatic business and the unconsidered nominations of the President were taken up and disposed of as if the 4th of March were an ordinary day in the calendar. The only disturbance perceptible was that a few Senators retired from office and a few new ones were introduced and sworn in, and a trifling rearrangement in the detail or personnel of the committees took place. There was no lobbying, no caucusing, no prolonged election for Speaker, no trading of votes for Clerk, or Doorkeeper, or Sergeant-at-Arms—in a word, the legislative functions of the Senate were as complete and perfect and in as good working order an hour after noon on the 4th of March as an hour before.

On the first Monday of December, in each alternate year, everything has to begin again in the House of Representatives; the entire body has to present credentials; an absolutely entire organization has to be effected; a long interval has to elapse for a new Speaker to select new committees; the thousands of private bills and petitions which consumed hours of time and thousands in money at the last Congress, all have become waste paper—blank paper so far as the business of the House is involved; and they have to be again introduced, again referred, again printed, and again die unacted upon and undisposed of.

The waste of time and money has been enormous; but, worse than this, the waste in getting this cumbrous machine of nearly 400 members into working order consumes so much time that the long session is practically little better than the short one. A host of demoralizing influences also affect the organization. Sometimes there have been dangerous deadlocks, when it seemed almost impossible for the House to organize, as when, in the Thirty-fourth Congress, Mr. Banks was elected, but not until 133 ballots had been taken. The bad element which manages and accomplishes in caucus always effects something, and sometimes rules absolutely. Mr. Robeson in the caucus and Mr. Keifer in the Speaker's chair were not literally sunshine and shadow, but were the products of an imperfect system that requires caucuses, and stores patronage, and breeds manipulators. The Speaker of the House of Representatives has become in many ways the most powerful officer of our constitutional system. There is no other who can do so much to mould or retard or obstruct legislation as he. He appoints the committees, and the committees have power to bring one measure forward and keep another back, and to shape and change and "smother" any. To compel a committee to report, or to censure it for not reporting, or to instruct it to report in a particular way, is no longer dreamt of in Congress.

It follows, of course, that an officer who has the absolute power of appointment, who can make each committee what he pleases, and whose appointments are subject to no censorship and require no approval, must have an immense influence with his committees, and with those outside forces which seek to procure or prevent legislation. The rulings, also, of the Speaker are, in minor matters, practically irreversible, and with such a power before him, and with such gifts in his hand, no one can deny a rapidly growing danger in this House of Congress. The constitutional veto power of the President is paltry beside the undefined power which a determined and unscrupulous Speaker can wield. Finally, there are other officers to be elected besides the Speaker, officers whose salaries are not great, but whose patronage is; and there are, as in other caucuses, votes to be traded and candidates to be pushed and favors to be given and repaid. The whole thing is demoralizing, and no single benefit results from such a system.

Moreover, it involves at present, though not necessarily, another evil. The House of Representatives is elected thirteen months before it assembles to organize. What is worse is, that half of its business existence—the second session of Congress—does not begin until after a new House of Representatives has been elected. That evil the country has several times contemplated, and always with a desire, more or less expressed, that it should be done away with. A notorious illustration of what may happen, and what, indeed, always does happen, although in a less degree and in a less notorious way, was the once renowned "salary-grab session," when the retiring members voted to increase their salaries retroactively just before Congress expired, and men who had been defeated at the preceding November election, and knew that they were doomed to retire from public life, carried back with them this extra pay as so much plunder. While such causes continue to exist, it is inevitable that such effects must follow.

A remedy for this seems close at hand, and nearly a century of experience has demonstrated its feasibility and proved that it does not contain one objectionable element. We refer, of course, to the American Senate. No one has ever noted or perceived a single ill effect proceeding from the continuous organization of the Senate. When the political majority in the Senate changes, some Senator gets up and moves to proceed to the election of a President pro tem., and the change takes place quietly and easily, and without the slightest jar. A notable instance was when the Senate elected Mr. Bayard President pro tem. one day and Mr. David Davis President pro tem. the next. The enormous power of dictating who shall compose the committees is not vested in any one man, but is managed easily by a committee with few changes, and those always subject to censure and disapproval of the Senate. The committees remain organized, and changes are made gradually as new members come in, and the work of the Senate goes on constantly. A consequence of such a system is that the ablest men naturally come to the front. It is inevitable there that the important committees will be composed of the men best fitted to be on them, and that the very strong men of the majority will be chairmen. The diplomatic business of the Senate is great, and so is that relating to appointments, and there is no "previous question," debate being unrestrained; yet the Senate is always in advance of the House in legislative work, and does that work more promptly and more thoroughly. Why, then, should a system which has been proved to be bad be retained at one end of the Capitol, when at the other end of the same building can be found a system which ninety-eight years of experience show to be almost faultless?

The dissolution of the House of Representatives was, of course, suggested by the dissolution of Parliament. At the time when the Constitution was framed, the traditions of the Long Parliament lingered in the public mind, and a morbid fear of Federal usurpa-

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tion existed in nearly every State. To bring Congress to an end at stated times was to follow the precedent of English legislation against long Parliaments, and to disarm or forestall the objections against unlimited Federal power. The provision, as framed, was admirably adjusted to the unyielding necessities of the time, and was not ill adapted to a House of Representatives consisting of about seventy men, for the most part intelligent and well-trained statesmen. But in our day the danger which confronts us is the inability of the lower house to move the stagnant legislation of 60,000,000 people. And this is coupled with, and aggravated by, the interval which exists between the election of the members and the organization of the House. Substantially, everybody is in favor of having this interval shortened, and yet there is another side to that question. To make a House all of whose members are elected on the 8th of November assemble in Washington on the 7th of December, then to organize, fresh from the heat and conflict of the election, is an experiment not without danger, while to postpone the assembling of Congress to the middle of the winter, as was proposed by the Crain amendment, is to bring upon ourselves two short sessions instead of one.

After reviewing the entire situation, the question arises whether its difficulties will not be best met and overcome by simply adopting that system which has already been thoroughly tested. A brief and simple amendment to the Constitution will effect the change which (with the change of the day of the inauguration) has been thus formulated:

ARTICLE XVI.

The term of office of the President and the second session of the Fiftieth Congress shall continue until the thirtieth day of April in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-nine; and the thirtieth of April shall thereafter be substituted for the fourth of March as the commencement of the official term of the successive Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the United States.

ARTICLE XVII.

(For form and phraseology of this amendment see the Constitution, art. 1, sec. 1 and 3.)

The House of Representatives shall be a continuing body like the Senate.

The members shall be divided as equally as may be into two classes, so that one half may be chosen every year. The term of office of each class shall begin on the first Monday in December of the same year in which they shall be chosen.

To give effect to this article, the House of Representatives in being at the time of its ratification shall divide the Representatives of the next Congress into two classes, apportioning between them as equally as may be the Representatives of each State. When the two classes are thus formed, it shall be determined by lot which shall hold their seats for two years, and which shall hold their seats for three years, in the first instance. The successors of each class shall thereafter be chosen in alternate years. The terms of office of all Senators and Representatives which otherwise would expire on the 4th of March, shall continue until the first Monday in December following.

"STATE-RIGHTS."

THE decision of the United States Supreme Court in the matter of the Virginia debt constitutes, under the circumstances of its announcement, one of the most striking and even dramatic events in our political history. The highest judicial tribunal in the land is now composed entirely of men appointed by Republican Presidents. Years have passed since the last justice who held the commission of a Democratic President disappeared, and although Justice Field, since his appointment twenty-four years ago, like many Republicans of Lincoln's day, has become a Democrat, he has long been the sole representative of that party upon the Supreme bench. A political organization could not ask a better opportunity to interpret the fundamental law than has for years been enjoyed by the Republican party, through its absolute control of the Supreme Court.

The death of Justice Woods a few months ago opened the way for a Democratic President to appoint a Democrat to the highest bench for the first time in a quarter of a century, and a nomination by Mr. Cleveland was expected to reach the Senate early in the present session. As the South has been practically without representation since the outbreak of the civil war (Justice Woods having been really a carpet-bagger in Alabama rather than an Alabamian, and Justice Harlan's home having been only the other side of the Ohio River), it has been universally taken for granted from the first that the President would select a representative Southern man, and for some time past it has been understood that his choice has fallen upon Mr. Lamar. A better representative of that section could not be found. Mr. Lamar served in Congress before the war, and resigned his seat to participate in the secession of Mississippi, and later to enter the Confederate Army; he did his best to establish "State rights" in the old Calhoun sense of the phrase, and to overthrow the Federal Government; he accepted the situation when defeated, renounced the doctrine of secession, and has ever since loyally done everything in his power to promote the welfare of the reunited nation.

The death of Justice Woods was no sooner announced than Republican organs began to lament the fact that the party of "State rights" was to be given a share in interpreting the Constitution, and the chorus of indignation over the dangers thus threatened to the nation has grown louder as the selection of Mr. Lamar has been more plainly foreshadowed. It was ignorantly taken for granted that a Republican Supreme Court had all these years been interpreting the Constitution in a way that favored the latitudinarian views of those politicians who, for partisan ends, have sought to aggrandize the powers of the Federal Government, and it was carelessly taken for granted that Democratic justices appointed from the South would give a very different construction to the rights of the States under the Constitution from that given by Republican justices appointed from the North. This theory has been urged with especial force in reference to the Virginia cases which have long been pending in the Supreme Court. A Western Republican organ expressed the partisan view of the case the other day when it said of Mr. Lamar's appointment: "Regarding the Virginia question, his life-time devotion to and advocacy of the doctrine of States' rights does not permit a doubt as to where he would be found in this issue. If he goes on the Supreme bench, the present Government of Virginia will get the vindication, with every right of repudiation involved, which it is seeking."

We pointed out, however, when this discussion began six months ago, that the theory of the Republican organs was based upon the densest ignorance of the real attitude of the Supreme bench as regards the relative provinces of the States and of the Federal Government. There is no question that the men who carried through the post-bellum amendments to the Constitution generally supposed that a practical reconstruction of the relations between the States and the United States had been effected by these amendments, and that the believers in the Hamilton school considered that the extreme Federal theory had been thus embedded in the fundamental law. But the Supreme Court early showed that this was an utterly false notion. The decision in what are known as the Louisiana slaughter-house cases, rendered in 1872, only a short time after the adoption of these amendments, expressly declared that "we do not see in those amendments any purpose to destroy the main features of the general system" as it had existed before the war. The subsequent decisions, which pronounced "unconstitutional and void" the "Kuklux Act" and the Civil-Rights Act, because the "absurd" theory on which they were based "would make Congress take the place of the State Legislatures and supersede them," ought to have removed any doubt as to the Court's position which had survived the deliverance of 1872. Justice Miller, the oldest Republican in point of service, in his notable address upon the Supreme Court before the Law Alumni of Michigan University last summer, summed up the case when he said: "It may be considered now as settled that, with the exception of the specific provisions in them [the amendments] for the protection of the personal rights of the citizens and people of the United States, and the necessary restrictions upon the power of the States for that purpose, with the additions to the powers of the general Government to enforce those provisions, no substantial change has been made. The necessity of the great powers conceded by the Constitution originally to the Federal Government, and the equal necessity of the autonomy of the States and their power to regulate their domestic affairs, remain as the great features of our complex form of government."

The Virginia cases which were decided on Monday hinged upon the question of State rights. The issue was simply whether the State could be compelled to certain action by the Federal authority. Any inclination towards a broad interpretation of Federal prerogatives was strengthened by the fact that the question of repudiation was involved, and that the interference of the general Government was invoked in the cause of honesty. Every motive which might reasonably influence the court in that direction was thus present. Nevertheless, every Northern Republican justice was found on the side of the State and against the Federal Government. The only note of protest came from the single

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justice whose old home was South of Mason and Dixon's line, while the Ohio Republican who presides over the Court, and his Republican associates from other Northern States, were emphatic in their maintenance of "State rights."

"Repudiation Sustained" is the headline which the *Tribune* places over the report of the decision. A despatch to the *Herald* from Richmond says: "The decision of the Supreme Court caused great rejoicing here to-day. It is regarded by all classes as a fixed and final triumph of State sovereignty. Men tossed up their hats and cried, 'Hurrah for Virginia! Hurrah for State rights!'" We have characterized this decision as a striking and, in view of Mr. Lamar's impending appointment, even a dramatic event. Consider the effect upon the public mind if the same decision had been rendered by a Supreme Court entirely composed of justices appointed by Democratic Presidents, and the news had come from the former capital of the Confederacy that men were tossing up their hats over "a fixed and final triumph of State sovereignty." It is not too much to say that the nation would have been convulsed, and that many Northern people would have felt that the war had been fought in vain.

It is most fortunate that the decision has been rendered under circumstances which insure its reception with equanimity. As that prominent Republican Senator, Gen. Hawley, has pointed out, "the tendency towards a consolidation of the entire powers of government is one of the strongest to-day, and one of those most dangerous to the republican experiment as our fathers understood it," and it is well that this tendency should be arrested in so striking a way by a Supreme Court of Northern Republicans. Even the most timorous can no longer dread that the appearance of Southern Democrats upon that bench will involve a dangerous construction of "State rights." Indeed, any careful student of our later history will be constrained to accept the opinion not long ago expressed by a distinguished Republican justice, that, so far as the question of "State rights" in the old Calhoun sense of the phrase is concerned, it is no longer a partisan question, and that in the Supreme Court the best conservators of State rights in the true sense of the words are Republicans.

THE INTER-STATE COMMERCE REPORT.

THE first report of the Inter-State Commerce Commission is a very sober, conservative, and thoughtful document, confirming the impression which their decisions as announced from time to time have already made. They tell us that the operation of the act has been on the whole beneficial. It has cured more evils than it has created—a good many more, we judge. The long-and-short-haul clause, from which so much harm was expected, has not yielded the bad results that were predicted. It has not been put in force in the South generally, nor in transcontinental traffic, owing to peculiarities arising from water transportation and Canadian competition; but these cases are still pending, no final decision having been yet reached. These cases are exceptional. The rule has been established that a higher charge shall not be made for a shorter than for a longer distance, where the shorter is included within the longer. In large sections of the country this rule is now without important exception. It is observed that the rule bears hardest on the weaker companies, the stronger ones complying with it more easily. In cases where strict compliance has not yet been enforced, there has been an approximation to it by the lowering of local rates, or the raising of through rates, or both, showing a general disposition to comply with the law. Upon this point the Commission offer the following commentary, which is fraught with the highest wisdom:

> "The act to regulate commerce was not passed to injure any interests, but to conserve and protect. It had for its object to regulate a vast business according to the requirements of justice. Its intervention was supposed to be called for by the existence of numerous evils, and the Commission was created to aid in bringing about great and salutary measures of improvement. The business is one that concerns the citizen intimately in all the relations of life; and sudden changes in it, though in the direction of improvement, might in their immediate consequences be more harmful than beneficial. It was much more important to move safely and steadily in the direction of reform than to move hastily, regardless of consequences, and perhaps be compelled to retrace important steps after great and possibly irremediable mischief had been done. The act was not passed for a day or for a year; it had permanent benefits in view, and to accomplish these with the least possible disturbance to the immense interests involved seemed an obvious dictate of duty."

It is gratifying to learn, also, that special rates and secret rates and rebates are no longer given to favored individuals, or to individuals whom the railroads think they must favor in order to hold their business. The language of the Commission is as explicit on this point as could be desired. The system of secret rebates has come to an end. The Standard Oil case now under advisement is one in which tank-cars not owned by the railroad companies, but by outside organizations, form an element of the problem. Upon this subject the Commissioners say that "a willingness to disregard the rules of equality and justice as between shippers, when it can be made for the interest of the carriers to do so, is as likely to make its appearance in the action of the managers of any one of these outside organizations as in that of the managers of the railroads; for the temptations will be the same, and the same class of persons will be bidding for special privileges and advantages which, before the act was passed, prospered so unfairly upon railroad favors." If all transportation by rail is to come under the same rules of general right and equity, they suggest that some further legislation is indispensable. This is a matter of so great importance that we wonder the Commission did not embody their views in the form of an amendment to the existing law.

Pooling has likewise come to an end. It is interesting to note that while making this announcement, the Commission do not censure the practice of pooling, but on the other hand point out that under the pooling system the decline in rates went on just as it did before, with the difference that there was greater steadiness than under the system of "cutting." In other words, the decline was gradual instead of jerky, and this was to the advantage of the public. One difficulty connected with the abolition of pools, pointed out by the *Railroad Gazette*, we do not see any mention of in the report. In these days of multiplying "Trusts," when the transportation of some articles like oil or sugar is held as a gift in a single hand or in comparatively few hands, it is possible for the Trust to threaten a railroad with the loss of its whole business of a particular kind, unless it shall make a special rate in contravention of the law. Pooling prevented to a large extent this kind of terrorism, since it distributed the earnings derived from such freight among all the roads concerned. "If," says the *Gazette*, "the law prohibits railroad pools, but cannot cope with rings of producers, it simply deprives the railroad men of the power of self-defence. Where the law is strong enough to control everybody, it is right to prohibit carrying weapons; but it is simple madness to try to prohibit some people from carrying weapons when there are other people, whom you cannot control, who are ready to take advantage of their weakness."

The intention of the Commerce Act, as the Commission understand it, was to preserve for the people the benefits of railroad competition. This should be the aim of any further legislation on the same subject. In order that these benefits may be preserved, they deprecate any attempts to establish mileage rates as a revolution in the business of the country, fraught with destructive consequences.

"FAIR TRADE" IN ENGLAND.

THE probability that the English Tories will, when Parliament meets, be driven into some attempt at a return to protective legislation, has apparently become very strong. If one may judge from the proceedings of the late Conservative Congress, this occupies the foremost place in the Conservative mind next to the necessity of keeping Gladstone out of office. It takes precedence of all purely English questions, including the reform of the county government. This latter topic is now seldom mentioned in Tory circles, except in a very guarded way, owing to radical differences of opinion about it among the leaders. It is proposed to give counties some sort of representative government in lieu of that of the justices of the peace sitting in Quarter Sessions; but the high-and-dry Conservatives are very unwilling to let the control of the county boards pass out of the hands of the landed gentry, or, in other words, of the nominees of the Crown. Accordingly, their plan is to keep the elected members of the boards in a minority, and give the preponderance to magistrates and other ex-officio members. This is said to be Lord Salisbury's idea, while Lord Randolph Churchill and the progressives are in favor of making them thoroughly representative and democratic. But the fear of making these differences

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public keeps the whole subject in the background, particularly as the rank and file of the party in the country districts are far more interested in the price of wheat and beef than in any change in local government.

Accordingly, as soon as a really large and representative Conservative convention was held, protection at once came to the front. The farmers and landlords want a duty on foreign agricultural products, on the amount of which they are not agreed; but, as the promoters of impracticable schemes are apt to say, "this is a mere detail." To secure the support of the voters in the towns for any scheme which would raise the price of food, something would also have to be done for the protection of manufactures, but nobody has yet pointed out what the manufactures are which could be protected against foreign competition, because, as a matter of fact, there is practically no competition in the English markets on the part of foreigners. There are articles in which foreigners undersell the English producer, but they are few and unimportant, and their total exclusion would have no perceptible effect on the condition of English industry. Consequently, the party has as yet been able to formulate no bid for the votes of the English operatives in factories and mines. The manufacturers have got the home market already, and the fair-traders cannot offer them any other.

This is not all, however. The Liberals have entered the field to show that, as a matter of historical fact, the English farmer never derived any real benefit from the old Corn Laws, that the landlord was the only person who ever profited by them, and that if the duty on grain were reimposed to-morrow, its only effect would be to arrest the progress of rent over a large part of England towards total extinction. Mr. Leadam, an English lawyer who has given considerable attention to the agricultural question, has made a study of "What Protection does for the Farmer and Laborer," in the shape of a chapter from agricultural history which gives a terrible blow to the "fair trade" plan of revenue. He shows conclusively by copious citations from Government statistics, and from the evidence and reports of Parliamentary committees of inquiry, between 1800 and 1841—the period when the Corn Laws were most stringent in their operation—that they never in any degree improved the condition of the farmer; that in fact, at several periods of their operation, a state of things arose very like that which we now witness—a wholesale abandonment of farms by men who had put a small capital into them and found it impossible to make them pay, and had either become bankrupt or were anxious to make their escape before they had lost everything.

The immediate effect of the duties on foreign grain was, of course, to raise the price of the home product. This caused a certain competition for farms, but the rents fixed by the landlords followed up the price of agricultural produce so closely that no profit was left in the business, particularly as the increased domestic competition soon knocked prices down. This result frequently recurred during the period we have mentioned, and the cry of distress was generally followed by a Parliamentary inquiry, in which the landlords always maintained that the whole trouble was due to the fact that the duties were not high enough. They were, in truth, the only men to whom the Corn Laws did any good. Each rise in the duty brought on a fresh batch of farmers to compete for their farms and throw away their capital in rents which the land never could afford. The ruin of the farmers, of course, meant pauperism for the laborer.

A solemn protest was entered on the journals of the House of Lords against the Corn Law of 1815 by twenty-five of the peers. One of those who voted for the law—Earl Fitzwilliam—in an address to the landowners of England twenty-five years later, in 1840, expressed his deep regret at having done so, inasmuch as experience of its working showed him that it was "founded on erroneous principles, and attended by most disastrous consequences." Of its effect on the poor tenants in leading them to offer high rents for farms when prices were high, which they could not get reduced when prices fell, he spoke in the strongest terms. It will be easily seen from all this that the way of the English protectionist is hard.

THE LAND QUESTION IN THE HOME-RULE STRUGGLE.

DUBLIN, November 18, 1887.

IN the month of November the greater part of Irish rents become payable; for on many estates rents are collected but once a year. It is a time, therefore, of anxiety and activity with land agents and landlords, and never more of anxiety than it is this year. For farmers generally it has been a disastrous season; an unprecedented drought has made produce short, and prices have been, as a rule, lower than ever. Comparing the present crisis with former years of distress, the change in the position of tenant farmers is very remarkable. This is partly due to changes in the law, but quite as much to altered public opinion and the strength of the National party. In past years of scarcity and distress, rents were rarely lowered; if tenants were not evicted, they were debited year after year with unpaid balances, till the estate rentals exhibited as due an amount of arrears which no industry, thrift, or good fortune could hope to discharge. Rents have already been lowered by law, and are again about to be judicially reduced; the force of public opinion now restrains landlords who formerly "enforced their rights with hands of iron, while they disclaimed their duties with fronts of brass." Their relations with tenants are now to a large extent regulated by law, instead of by estate-office rules, arbitrary fines, and the caprices of agents and owners. In former times, resistance to the wishes or demands of a landlord was almost unheard of; it was better to endure oppression, rackrenting, petty annoyance, than to resist or resent, and probably be "dishomed" in consequence. Tenants are now to a large extent independent, and no longer live in a state of degrading subserviency. They are becoming accustomed to act together, and recognize the wisdom of the motto, "United we stand, divided we fall." For the first time they are fully represented in Parliament, and their grievances are fully and audibly expounded.

The land question is without doubt the central and critical point in the home-rule struggle, the incidents in which recall and are very similar to those in the struggles which took place 2,000 years ago between the plebeians and patricians at Rome. The Hortensian laws abolished or greatly reduced debts, and allotted land to the plebeians. That is precisely what legislation and agitation have been doing in Ireland. Rents, those ever-accruing debts, have been reduced; arrears have been remitted; and the real ownership of the land has been distributed among the people—for fixity of tenure, at rents judicially fixed, is more properly ownership than the landlord's legal estate in lands held by tenants, which is now reduced to a right of action for rents. The quality and quantity of the landlord's estate in land have been changed and diminished, with this result in addition to the diminution of revenue, that their estates are now unsalable. Up to 1878 land occupied by tenants was a favorite investment for capitalists. The ownership of such an estate gave the landlord political power, social position, a good return for his money, and there was a probability of obtaining an increase of revenue by raising the rents. None of these inducements now exist; the landlord's estate is unsalable, except to the occupiers; and the occupiers have not to buy at competitive prices.

Some economists have drawn a distinction between land as an investment and land as an instrument of production, and this distinction is well illustrated in Ireland. Land is still in demand for possession and occupation purposes, but no longer as an investment. The same distinction is observable in Continental countries. Land is purchased in France and Belgium at prices which, measured by its rent, would not return 2 per cent., while the same purchasers if they borrow on mortgage would pay from 4 to 6 per cent. The estate, using the term in its legal sense, of the investor is different from that of the buyer, who, in addition to ownership, has the occupation of the land, and finds employment on it for his labor and capital, as well as daily enjoyment and a sense of freedom unknown to tenants holding by precarious tenures, or to wage-earning laborers.

The depreciation in value of the landlords' estates is best shown by the prices at which they are ready to sell. Ten years ago estates were seldom broken up for sale to the occupiers except for prices of not less than twenty-five years' purchase of the rents—the legal costs of the tenant's transfer deeds amounting to from one-tenth to one-fourth of the prices of their farms in such cases. Landlords are now selling for from sixteen to eighteen years' purchase on the reduced rents, and paying all the costs of transfer to the tenants. The Marquis of Lansdowne is offering one of his best estates in Queens County for eighteen years' purchase of the rents; the tenants refuse to give more than sixteen. But for the recent evictions, and now the imprisonments and prosecutions under the Crimes Act, this transaction would probably have been settled amicably by the intervention of the National League; but from day to day we are drifting more and more into a state of war.

The result of the Crimes Act has not been to make either the collection of rents or the sale of their estates easier for the landlords, but rather the reverse. Litigation for the purpose of getting fair rents fixed has been stimulated by the Land Act of last session. About 40,000 notices of fair-rent suits have been given during the last two months, and, until these are disposed of, the occupiers will neither invest money in improvement of their farms, nor even cultivate them to the best advantage. What with these evicted and boycotted farms, and estates where the Plan of Campaign has been adopted, a large proportion of the country is

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either waste or but half cultivated. The loss of wealth from consequent diminished production is not capable of being estimated, but must be very large. Want of employment for laborers and general discontent necessarily accompany this state of things, from which at present there seems no hope of escape. Archbishop Walsh's kindly proposal for a conference between the antagonistic parties has been knocked on the head, not so much by the landlords' tardy and hesitating acceptance, as by the action of the Government. An indispensable preliminary to a conference would be a cessation of hostilities, the release of the many persons now in prison under the Crimes Act, and a suspension of eviction proceedings. The Government have, however, entered upon a course of action in which they must persevere or fall; and their action is approved of and applauded by the Conservative press. Numbers of prominent Nationalists will, without doubt, soon be in prison.

In attempting to carry out their policy, the Government are daily placed in difficult or ridiculous positions. They must resort either to extreme violence, which would alienate their own supporters, or submit to be defied and permit their proclamations to be evaded and their warrants to remain unexecuted. At present Mr. Cox, M. P. for Mayo, a warrant for whose arrest has been issued, is playing hide-and-seek with the police. Mr. Douglas Pyne, M. P. for Waterford, has fortified himself in a Cromwellian castle on his farm, the walls of which are said to be twenty feet thick, with provisions for some months. The castle might, of course, be easily knocked down by artillery, or more carefully taken down by the Royal Engineers; but as against the civil forces of the Crown it is almost impregnable. The Government has become not only odious but contemptible; but whether they will learn the impossibility of administering a country with representative institutions against the will of the people, and take a new departure next session, or whether they will persevere till they fall, it is hard to say. At any rate the materials for another Irish session of Parliament are being abundantly prepared.

A Land Valuer.

THE ANCIEN RÉGIME.

Paris, November 17, 1887.

Few systematic works have been written on the organization of France under the *ancien régime*—that is to say, before the Revolution of 1789. The elements of such a treatise must be looked for in an infinity of sources. Taine has passed his judgment on the *ancien régime* in his 'Origins of Contemporary France,' but he has chiefly insisted upon the abuses and the defects of the old organization. Tocqueville also approached the subject, trying to find the causes of the French Revolution and of its special character. Some of the chapters which he wrote on this great question are among his best productions. As he well says: "The French Revolution will always be mere darkness for those who look at it alone; it is in the preceding times that you must look for the only light which can bear upon it. Without a distinct view of the ancient society, of its laws, of its vices, of its prejudices, of its miseries, of its greatness, you can never understand what the French did during the sixty years which followed it."

It seems to many as if the history of France were divided in two parts. Some only know what took place before 1789, others only care for what has happened since. There never was, in one sense, a more minute attention paid to history than in our time. We have a *Revue Historique*, an École des Chartes; we require in our historical works the severest criticism and the constant use of original documents. The method is perfect and the result is miserable. All our great publishers have told me that the public for good historical books is becoming every year more restricted; those who care for the history of ancient times become more difficult to please as they become less numerous. Even the *Revue Historique* and the professors and writers who support it are obliged to come nearer to our own time; they are more and more occupied with the history of the French Revolution. They have discovered that the Revolution had diplomats, and are publishing and analyzing their despatches. The Revolution is the great attraction—it is the sphinx of history.

This Revolution was, however, in germ in the *ancien régime;* it had been predicted by many thinkers. In 1710, Fénelon wrote at Cambrai: "As for myself, if I took the liberty to judge of the state of France by the fragments of Government which I see on this frontier, I should conclude that we live by miracle, that it is an old, broken-down machine which still works in virtue of its original impulse, but which will be broken at the first shock." If we come to a nearer epoch, we have hundreds of witnesses who testify against the perpetuation of the old state of things. Mme. Campan, who was attached to Marie Antoinette, writes: "Twenty years before 1789 it was said that the institutions of the old monarchy were falling with a rapid motion; that the people, borne down with taxation, were silently miserable, but began to open their ears to the audacious speeches of the philosophers, who proclaimed their sufferings and their rights." The return of Voltaire to Paris in 1770, and his triumph, was a sort of proclamation of the rights of man, and, strangely enough, all classes took part in this apotheosis. Six years before the Revolution, the "Mariage de Figaro" was played before the court. In a word, it can be said that the Revolution was made in men's minds before it took its material form. Everybody felt that a change had become imminent and necessary. Few knew where the change was to take place.

Was it in the court? We have a good description of the court in a book just published by the Vicomte de Broc, 'La France sous l'ancien régime.' This description is very minute. As he says: "We may judge of the place occupied by royalty after Louis XIV. by the prodigious number of persons attached to the service of the King; his civil household (outside of the military household) embraced no less than 4,000 persons." M. de Broc gives the detail of all the services—the house of the King, the chamber, the ante-chamber, the cabinet, the *garde-robe*, the stables, the *vénerie*, the lodgings and houses, the journeys, the police, the ceremonies, etc. The King had 3,000 horses in his stables (their number was, in the end, reduced to 1,850); there were 500 men in livery. There was, besides, the house of the Queen; under Louis XIV. there were 572 persons in the household of Maria Theresa. A terrible etiquette surrounded the sovereigns; it made them almost slaves. Presentations were one of the King's functions. M. de Broc has made the calculation that from 1760 to 1789, in the course of twenty-nine years, there were no less than 2,078 presentations, a number which corresponds to 826 families. This number will not seem large, as it shows that in the course of one year there were no more than twenty-eight families presented; but this needs an explanation. Once presented, you had a permanent right to certain honors; and when the proofs necessary to a presentation had been made, the presentation of a single member of the family procured the honors of the court to all the representatives of the family who bore the same name.

What were the proofs? The *règlement* of April 17, 1760, adopted by Louis XV., decided that no woman should be presented to the King, and no man allowed to enter his carriages and to follow his Majesty to the hunting-field, without having produced before the genealogist of the King a filiation, established by three original titles on each side, since 1400. This regulation dispensed only the great officers of the Crown, the descendants in the male line of the Knights of the Holy Ghost, the officers of the King's household. A woman was presented, not on account of her own birth, but upon the proofs made by her husband. When you had once received the honors (which consisted, for a woman, in presentation to the King and the royal family; for a man, in admission to the King's carriages), you had a right to be admitted to the receptions of the King and Queen. This regulation excluded families which had recently procured patents of nobility or had recently become ennobled by an office. The court was therefore strictly aristocratic, and it constituted a small nation in the nation. At Versailles there were habitually, at the time of Marie Antoinette, no more than a hundred men and as many women at court; and no more than 500 men and women at the solemn receptions.

The writers of memoirs have given us complete descriptions of the life at court. Less is generally known on a more important point, the King's council. "Le Roi gouverne par lui-même" was the great maxim of government after Louis XIV.; but the King had councillors. His council was subdivided into various committees. Saint-Simon tells us that "on Sundays there is a council of state, and often also on Mondays; on Tuesdays, council of finance; on Wednesdays, council of state; on Saturdays, council of finance." There were also a council of despatches and a council of war, which sat more irregularly. The King did not often attend the council of finance, and the Controller-General had in reality absolute power. "Whatever is called finance," says Saint-Simon, "taxes, duties, impositions of all sorts—new ones, augmentation of the old, *régies* of all kinds—all this is managed by the Controller-General of Finance, with an intendant who acts as his clerk, or quite alone."

From the time of Louis XIV. till 1789 there were only four ministers secretaries of state. The four departments were the Foreign Office, the War, the Navy, the King's Household. The principal officers of state were the Chancellor, the Controller-General of Finance, and the ministers secretaries of state. Many of the ministers of the old monarchy were chosen from the *tiers-état*, outside of the ranks of the nobility; they were "les gens du roi." They were, however, admitted, as well as their descendants, to all the honors of the court, and dispensed from all the proofs usually necessary for these honors. Saint-Simon is never tired of reproaching the kings for their preference for the *roture*, and he sees in the exclusion of the nobility from the active part of the Government a method for obtaining a more absolute subjection from the ministers.

Tocqueville remarked that the existing French centralization had been prepared before the French Revolution. The provinces were divided into two distinct classes, the *pays d'États*, which had their own States or Parliaments, and the *pays d'élection*. The provinces which had their own States, their small Assemblies composed of the three orders, and which, under the name of *don gratuit*, voted their

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own taxes, were only the fourth part of the French territory—Brittany, Languedoc, Burgundy, Flanders, Artois, Dauphiné, Provence. The countries called *pays d'élection* were under the immediate authority and tutelage of the royal power. All the provinces were divided into districts called generalities; and each generality was subdivided into elections (hence the name *pays d'élection*). Each generality was administered by an intendant, each election by a subdelegate. There were in all twenty-six generalities; these were the administrative divisions of France. Richelieu was the creator of the office of intendant, his official title being "intendant of justice, police, and finance." The intendant was, in fact, the predecessor of the modern prefect. He had a larger territory to govern, something like three of our present departments. Like the prefect, he was a stranger to the country which he administered, and he had all the attributes of government. The intendants were at first very ill received in the provinces, especially in Brittany, in Béarn, in Languedoc; but by degrees they broke down all local resistance and destroyed the manorial authority of the noblemen. "Know," said Law, the financier, to the Marquis d'Argenson, "that your country is governed by thirty intendants. You have no parlements, no states, no governors; thirty *maîtres des requêtes* sent to the provinces have in their hands the happiness or the misery of the provinces, their abundance or their sterility." Mirabeau, the author of the 'Ami des Hommes,' who was an aristocrat, called them "cette espèce, cette clique." The governors of the provinces had in the end a merely nominal authority; they were something like the lords-lieutenant of modern England. They were all gentlemen, men of the court, and had what Mme de Sévigné calls "du bruit, des trompettes, des violons, un air de royauté." Everything becomes complex in an old country, and the delimitations of the provinces were not identical with those of the generalities. In 1789 there were thirty-eight governments, the most important of which were the Île de France, Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, Brittany, Burgundy, the Lyonnais, Dauphiné, Provence, Auvergne, Languedoc, and Guienne. The governors were often absentees, and their functions were exercised by lieutenant-generals. The Comte de Grignon, for instance, the son-in-law of Mme. de Sévigné, took the place of governor in Provence, in the absence of the Duke of Vendôme.

Everything was ready in 1789 for a great change, but M. de Broc merely describes accurately the state of the country at that time. He does not enter profoundly into his subject, and seems to take it for granted that the revolution which put an end to the absolute government of the King and to the privileges of a class could have been accomplished without any struggle. You must not look in his work, which is a mere compilation of facts, for any analysis of the causes of the great events that filled the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the present century. In some senses, it can be said that, even after a hundred years, the French Revolution has not come to an end. France has not yet found that perfect equilibrium of forces which can inspire confidence in the future.

Correspondence.

A LETTER TO FATHER McGLYNN AND HENRY GEORGE.

GENTLEMEN: I am one of several executors who have about determined to abandon to the State eight thousand acres of land. This land is not situated in the wilds of Alaska nor in the deserts of Arizona, but lies within the State of New York. It is, indeed, within eighty miles of the State Capitol, within ten miles of the terminus of the Adirondack Railroad, and only two miles from the highway which leads to the summer resort known as Blue Mountain Lake. It is, moreover, bisected by the Hudson River, and if you will turn to any school atlas and find the point where the Hudson and Indian Rivers meet, you will be able to place the land, for that point is very nearly the centre of the tract.

I am informed that you are deeply interested in the suppression of poverty. The object is most commendable, and has my entire sympathy. I am also informed that you hold that the evil of extreme poverty is caused by the accumulation of land in the hands of too few individuals, and that to exterminate poverty it is necessary that we distribute lands among those who do not now possess them.

Here, then, is your opportunity. The owners will convey this tract to you for a trifling, almost a nominal, consideration, say for ten cents an acre. Undoubtedly in the city of New York you can readily raise so paltry a sum for so commendable a purpose. All that will then remain for you to do will be to remove a thousand or two of the idle and unhappy to this field of immediate independence and future wealth—if wealth be not an objectionable term.

In making this move, your protégés will have all the advantages that our forefathers possessed when they settled New England, Virginia, or Kentucky, and a hundred more besides. The soil and climate are similar to those of Massachusetts and Vermont; fuel can be had for the chopping; the woods are full of game; besides the Hudson and Indian Rivers are numerous streams, and lakes, and ponds; and beyond their purchase the settlers will have the great Adirondack forest at their back for hunting-grounds. Undoubtedly for a year or two they can subsist on fish and game, as the first settlers did of old. When they float logs and timber down the river to Glens Falls, they will find sawmills and canals and railroads ready made. I will guarantee that they will be neither tomahawked nor scalped, nor tortured, nor burned, nor even shot by Indians. If the Anti-Poverty Society sees fit to send them supplies, those supplies will not be transported in a leaky vessel by a four months' voyage, but can be carried in a few hours and dumped at North Creek, the terminus of the road, and within an hour or two of the proposed settlement. Should they have conscientious scruples against patronizing the railroads and steamboats of great capitalists, or should they prefer to travel by the primitive means of the first settlers, they can take sloop to Albany, and then by four or five or, at most, six days of easy marches, over excellent roads, reach their promised land at little cost, and with no peril. When they arrive there, they will find no capitalist to absorb their earnings, and no policeman to restrict their liberty; speech will be as free as the deer, and may be as incessant as the brooks.

In short, here is your opportunity—and theirs. The scheme contains every advantage that was ever set before the men who conquered nature and laid the foundations of this western empire, and, as I said before, a hundred more. It will also enable you to demonstrate that the distribution of land will exterminate poverty.

Respectfully, etc., etc., etc., C. C. N.
WASHINGTON, November, 1887.

[We are able to say that the foregoing proposition is not a mere figure of speech. The tract of land referred to does exist, and is about to be abandoned for taxes. Furthermore, it has been held by one family through four generations, and (if the Anti-Poverty Society does its duty) it can now pass by easy (we had almost said natural) transition from the control of capitalists to the possession of men pining for work and independence. To see a thousand of the followers of Most or the hangers-on of the Society starting off in the character of pilgrim fathers to conquer nature in the Adirondacks and outdo the men of the *Mayflower*, would be the most delightful spectacle of the present decade. Undoubtedly, as in earlier times, a great concourse would assemble on the banks of the river to behold them take sloop for Albany, and the most dejected pessimist would feel a new and lively faith in human nature. If these "hopes for man" do not "take form in fact," most assuredly Father McGlynn and Mr. Henry George must be held accountable. We are constrained, however, to say that our correspondent has been injudicious in one thing: instead of saying that "fuel can be had for the chopping," it would be much more attractive to say—can be had for nothing.—ED. NATION.]

THE DIFFERENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In writing upon the constitutional crisis in France, the *Evening Post* furnishes a text of so much interest that I will venture to quote it at length:

"The Constitution provides for the stability of the President for seven years, while leaving the Ministers responsible to the Chambers. But the Chambers have now made the President's term almost as uncertain in its duration as the Ministers. They have discovered, and are putting in practice, a device by which it will be possible for the legislative branch of the Government to get rid of any particular President whenever it pleases, by a general refusal to hold office under him. We are saved from such contingencies here by the fact that the President is not elected by Congress, but by the people, and that the Cabinet officers do not sit in Congress and need not care what Congress thinks of them. There is very little doubt that what is happening in France will generally be considered by political observers strong testimony to the value of the independence of Congress enjoyed by the President in this country."

Suppose for a moment that we approach the question from the other side, that of the position of the Chambers or of Congress. I suppose most people here look with mingled pity and contempt on the anarchy and political helplessness in France. It is true that we have a large financial surplus instead of a deficit; that we have not on our borders a mighty German Empire armed to the teeth and awaiting its opportunity, and thus compelling us to submit to the same strain and to nourish an immense military caste; that we have not to carry on vast colonial enterprises; that while in France Monarchists, Bonapartists, and Radicals are ready to fly at each other's throats and to plunge the country into civil war, provided it increases the chances of their success, our form of government is well established, and nobody dreams of overturning it by violence; that we have not an extensive church organization so bound up with reaction and intrigue as to drive the anti-religionists mad with fear and rage; and, lastly, that Congress does not have to manage all the internal affairs of the country. But, apart from these circumstances, is Congress as a working instrument any better than the French Chambers? Can it manage even

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the comparatively simple questions of tariff and currency, or has it managed any question of importance since the war? Is it any less given up to politics and President-making? Do the Republicans and Democrats care any more what becomes of the national interests provided they can achieve party success? Are not State and even city politics, divided on these national lines, as unmeaning as the Guelphs and Ghibellines of the thirteenth century? And would not the party leaders just as quickly, if they could—*absit omen!*—set the people to fighting for the purpose of carrying out their own schemes?

Again, bad as is the instability of French Ministries, it is the presence of the Ministry in the Chambers which saves the country from much worse things. They are at least a steadying point, if a very imperfect one. If the Ministry was withdrawn entirely from the Chambers, there would be street-fighting within a week. It is because they have a definite end to which to direct their efforts, that they do not pour out their blind rage against each other.

Now as to the source of authority. We have to keep in mind that in France, as in all representative countries, there is an incessant struggle for power between Executive and Legislature, and that the Legislature always gets the upper hand till the contest comes to armed violence, when it is apt to disappear altogether. In Great Britain and France the Legislature holds all power because it *makes* the Executive. The Queen is permanent, and Parliament, as English writers admit, practically elects a committee to carry on the Government. In France the President is chosen by the Chambers, and is, therefore, dependent upon them, hitherto as to his Ministry and now as to himself. Ministry making and unmaking is, therefore, the chief business both of Parliament and the Chambers. If it is less violent in England, it is because of the character and habits of the people, or rather because of the absence of a large standing army and the system which trains every man from youth to fighting as a business.

It is impossible to overrate the advantage to this country of the election of the President by the people. A Presidential election is worth all it costs both in time and money for its training of the people to work together and to have confidence in each other. But this great advantage is neutralized and supremacy assured to Congress by depriving the Executive of all standing-ground before his constituents. In one sense the President is independent of Congress, as any citizen is who stays at home and attends to his private affairs. But as far as any policy is concerned, or the procuring of any legislation, he is just as dependent upon Congress as the most miserable of suppliants. He must lobby or buy with offices or party service. If, on the other hand, he could, through his Cabinet, have an equal chance with members of Congress to address the country, then he would be independent. Why need the Cabinet resign in the face of an adverse majority any more than now? British and French Ministries must, because the Legislature makes and can unmake them, but Congress can neither make nor unmake a Cabinet. "A refusal to serve" under the President by members would be a matter of indifference, as he could choose his Cabinet outside of them. Congress, again, would find bullying a dangerous business. In that case the people would, nine times out of ten, side with the President. The bundle of sticks is much stronger than the single rods; and members would be quite too careful of their seats to indulge in factious opposition. On the other hand, the strength of the Cabinet, and therefore of the President, would depend upon good behavior. The self-interest of ten millions of voters is quite too divergent to be an active force. That which is common to all, or the vast majority, is admiration of integrity and ability, and contempt for trickery and weakness.

The sum of the matter is, that it lies within our choice to get the advantages of European ministerial systems without their defects.

G. B.

Boston, December 3, 1887.

POST-OFFICE MISMANAGEMENT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your criticisms in the last number of the *Nation* on the action of the Post-office Department in regard to third and fourth-class matter seem to me to be entirely correct, excepting the concession made in these words: "Very likely there is sufficient foundation for this claim, and it would be eminently proper for the Department to insist upon a reform."

An examination of the statute relied upon will, I think, show very positively that there is no propriety whatever in the Department's action. This subject is governed by the Postal Appropriation Act of March 3, 1879, contained in the twentieth volume of Statutes at Large, from pages 355 to 363. Section 17 defines third-class matter as follows:

"That mail matter of the third class shall embrace books, transient newspapers and periodicals, circulars, and other matter wholly in print," etc.

Section 22 defines additions which can be made to second, third, and fourth-class matter. Under the head of third-class matter, the following is the language of the law:

"Upon matter of the third class, or upon the wrapper enclosing the same, the sender may *write* his own name or address thereon, with the word 'from' above and preceding the same; and in either case may make simple marks intended to designate a word or passage of the text to which it is desired to call attention."

Section 23 is the section relied upon in justification of the Departmental action:

"That matter of the second, third, or fourth class, containing any writing or printing other than indicated in the preceding section, or made in a manner other than therein indicated, shall not be delivered, except upon the payment of postage for matter of the first class," etc.

The use of the words "writing and printing" in section 23 was necessary, because additional printing is forbidden upon matter of the *second* class beyond certain printing specified in section 22; but that section says nothing whatever on the subject of printing upon third-class matter, for the reason that third-class matter, as defined in section 17, is "matter wholly in print." The words, "printing other than indicated in the preceding section" can have no reference to that part of the preceding section which relates to third-class matter, as *printing* on third-class matter is not indicated in that section. So far as third-class matter is concerned, section 23 merely forbids any writing, "other than indicated in the preceding section." It seems to me perfectly clear from examining the law carefully, that as to third-class matter the action of the Department is without any warrant or justification whatever.

Another principle of statutory construction familiar to all lawyers is applicable to this matter. The construction which I suggest is the one adopted in practice in 1879, and continued in practice up to the present time—over eight years. No principle of statutory construction is more strongly settled than that a contemporary construction is to be adhered to. The law looks with great disfavor upon anything tending to unsettle decisions which have become rules of business conduct. I am satisfied that an action against the Postmaster would lie at the hands of any person whose third-class matter was refused because it contained printing beyond that permitted by the decision of the Postmaster-General.

This Administration is often referred to by the *Nation* as a business administration. Such vexatious rulings as this suggest that the right to this title may be open to serious question.

Yours respectfully,

William B. King.

Washington, D. C., November 29, 1887.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As a man and a brother, I ask you why cannot the Post-office Department be conducted with some approach to common sense? In a quiet, humble way, I have been publishing books during the past ten years (I wish it had not been quite so quiet or quite so humble). There has always been a noticeable tendency for books to go wrong in the mails—a tendency which has had a wonderful growth since 1884. It seems desirable that I should print a notice upon my books, requesting the Postmaster to return my books to me if they happen to go wrong. The Government is benefited by this request, as I pay the same postage on the books when returned as when sent out. During ten quiet years my printed notice containing this request has passed through the mails, together with thousands like it, unchallenged. But during the past few days my patrons are being mulcted out of their money, under the claim that letter postage is due on the books they receive, on account of the use of this much worn electrotype of mine. The amount of irritation and profanity aroused is terrible to think of. Indeed, I myself have a special load of sorrow. I am a disgruntled Republican; I am trying to be a Democrat. It is an unwonted road for me; I need encouragement. I am sadly discouraged when I see how strong the likelihood is, when a Democrat obtains office, that he will turn out either a fool or a knave.

My mind is fully made up to two things. If I ever become Postmaster-General (and it is not for me to set limits to the ways of Divine Providence), I shall conduct the Department upon the theory that the Department exists for the benefit of the people, and not the people for the benefit of the Department. If under a still more mysterious Providence I am called to a higher office, my first official act will be to issue the following secret circular: "All office-holders are requested, besought, and commanded to conduct their offices in such a way as to avoid the *needless irritation* of large numbers of voters. Remember 1888."

I think the policies outlined above are admirable. They are original with me, or, at least, there is little in the present management of the Post-office Department to impair this claim to originality.

J.

A HINT TO CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: While the President may have succeeded in preventing that "clean sweep" which some supporters of his party (I cannot, in view of his own declaration of principles, called them *his* supporters) have called for, it is notorious that dismissals from office where only party reasons can be presumed have been far too frequent. The system on which many heads of offices proceed seems to be this: They remove all or nearly all the Republicans, so as to make it clear that Republicans who pass the examinations will have little chance of being accept-

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ed, or, if accepted, of remaining long in the place. This naturally deters them from applying for examination, and keeps them out of office as effectually as if the Civil-Service Law did not exist. When asked why he has not appointed Republicans, the head of the office can truthfully say, "No Republicans have chosen to apply."

What are we going to do about it when the Civil-Service Law is nullified in this way? Until Congress passes some law regulating dismissals, or the President takes some step, the head of an office cannot be directly controlled in this matter. Indirectly, however, he may be, by making it clear in every such case that there is a large public sentiment against him. An official can break the Civil-Service Law in its spirit, while keeping it in the letter, as long as he has no fear of being called to account. Let him see that he cannot dismiss men without being publicly called on to give his reasons, and the case is altered.

This can be done very simply. When any letter-carrier or other subordinate is dismissed without any reason being stated, let two or three men at once inquire into the matter as far as they can. If they are morally sure that "politics" is the cause, let them prepare a civil letter to the man's chief requesting his reinstatement or the reasons for the dismissal, and get it signed by as many of their neighbors as possible. Some patriotic Democrats, who do not wish to see the public service debauched to give their party a temporary strength, can usually be found to take part. Let the committee present the letter personally, and if the answer is unsatisfactory, publish the correspondence.

"But it will do no good; the man will not be reinstated," I hear some one say. I grant the likelihood of the latter, but not of the former. I have before me the evasive answer of the Postmaster of this city to such a letter as I have described. We have not saved a faithful public servant of fourteen years' standing from dismissal, but we have let the Postmaster see what we think. Now let others follow the same plan. "Gutta cavat lapidem" must be the reformer's motto. Can any one doubt that if protests had been made in all the cases of unwarranted dismissal in the first year of this Administration, the thousands that have disgraced the succeeding years and imperilled Mr. Cleveland's chances of reëlection would have been diminished?

It is late to begin now, perhaps, but not too late. Republican heads are still falling from political guillotines all about us. Reformers say, "What can we do?" The answer is simple, "Protest in every case." C. C. B.

PHILADELPHIA, December 1, 1887.

A DISINTERESTED INDEPENDENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Charles Krumbhaar, lately elected Sheriff of Philadelphia over the Republican Boss, William R. Leeds, in order to show some recognition of the Independent support which had been given him, asked Mr. Thomas Leaming to take the position of assistant to the Sheriff's Solicitor, Mr. Furman Sheppard, one of the most distinguished lawyers of the city. Mr. Leaming, who has been prominent in all the reform movements that have been instituted in this city of late years, declined the post, for the expressed reason that the Independents had entered into the campaign for the sake of principle, not for office.

To the best of my belief this fact has not yet been reported in the Philadelphia *Press*—which does not believe in independent virtue.

I am, sir, etc., T. W.

PHILADELPHIA, November 29, 1887.

ENGLISH IGNORANCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Perhaps you have room for a rather curious instance of English ignorance about the United States. A short time ago the Cornell University library received from Ralfe Brothers, London, some presentation copies of their recent school text-books. Among them was a pamphlet entitled 'Complete Arithmetical Tables and Tables of Foreign Moneys, Weights, and Measures, by Samuel Goodwin, new edition, revised and corrected by A. W. Prior.' The preface states that the fault of most table books is, that they contain information that has become obsolete, but that it is hoped that this revision of former editions of the work is free from that defect. In a table of the value of foreign coins in English money on page 27 I find the following:

"The dollar of the United States of America has four values in different places:

In Georgia and South Carolina	4s. 6d.
In New England and Virginia	6s. 0d.
In Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania	7s. 6d.
In New York and North Carolina	8s. 0d."

The authors are evidently oblivious of the fact that the territory of the United States has been extended beyond the limits of the original thirteen States, and have copied their table from some old arithmetic of the days of the State currencies. In the South Carolina and Georgia currency it required 4s. 8d. instead of 4s. 6d. to make a dollar. The State currencies have been so long superseded that few people in the United States remember their existence, yet the old table, misstated (for instead of the dollar it was the value *assigned to* the shilling that varied), is still given in England as representing our present system, and it would seem that it must be common in their arithmetics, else it would have been corrected in this. Surely we ought not to expect English people to know much about us, if the statement I have quoted fairly illustrates the character of their school-books. H.

ITHACA, N. Y., November 28, 1887.

A STRUGGLING PERIODICAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Respectfully referring to the correspondence in your issue of December 1, under the above heading, we beg to advise American scholars willing to act on Prof. Pease's suggestion, that we shall be pleased to receive subscriptions for the *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik*, price 12 marks, $3.50 postpaid in this country, for $2.65 for next year, should the journal be continued.

B. WESTERMANN & Co.

838 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

Notes.

B. WESTERMANN & Co. will publish for this country an English translation of Prof. Karl Brugmann's 'Elements of Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages,' vol. i., from last year's Strassburg German edition.

The Rev. Edward C. Towne is preparing a 'Critical Life of Bacon,' in which Bacon's occupation and way of life during the Shakspere period will receive special attention. The controversy over the origin of the plays will be dealt with in a second volume; and a third will consist of a 'Critical Life of Shakspere.' These works have been for some time in hand.

Harper & Bros. publish directly Mr. Howells's 'April Hopes'; W. P. Frith's 'Autobiography and Reminiscences'; 'The Colonel's Money,' a book for girls, by Mrs. Lucy C. Lillie; and 'Family Living on $500 a Year,' by Miss Juliet Corson.

Ticknor & Co. issue directly 'The New Astronomy,' by Prof. S. P. Langley; 'Women and Work,' by Emily Pfeiffer; 'Olden-Time Music,' by Henry M. Brooks, with an introduction by Prof. E. S. Morse; 'The White Sail, and Other Poems,' by Louise Imogen Guiney; two Aino fairy tales—'The Hunter in Fairy Land,' 'The Birds' Party'; and 'New Waggings of Old Tales.'

Swinburne's tragedy 'Locrine' will have the American imprint of Worthington Co.

'Dainty Desserts for Dainty Dinners,' by Mrs. N. M. Littlehale, and 'In the Sick Room,' are announced by C. A. Montgomery & Co., New York.

G. & C. Merriam & Co. correct a report that a revised edition of 'Webster's Unabridged' is nearly ready. None will be published, they say, for some years.

M. Ernest Chantre's 'Recherches Anthropologiques dans le Caucase' represents a vast amount of labor, physical and scholarly, on the spot and elsewhere, and is expected to throw much light upon the populations that inhabited and proceeded from the Caucasus. It will be richly illustrated. The Paris publisher is Reinwald (New York: F. W. Christern).

The *Writer's* Literary Bureau, Boston, offers to serve as an intermediary between writers for the periodical press and the likeliest magazine or journal. Manuscripts will be read, and the best opening indicated, for a small fee.

Appropriate selections from the writings of Mrs. Juliana H. Ewing are affixed in the form of a pad to the Ewing Calendar for 1888, sent us by E. & J. B. Young & Co. The novelty of this calendar otherwise lies in the embossed ornamentation of the card back, seemingly a bronze electroplate, with a profile head of the charming writer.

The present month witnesses the first issue of a new magazine, the *Woman's World*, edited by Oscar Wilde, and published by Cassell & Co. It is a large quarto of some pretensions, is illustrated, and appears to have no use for men in its collaboration beyond the editor. Women furnish the articles, and the reviews are of books written by women. Mrs. Ritchie (Miss Thackeray) has a paper on the "Grandmother of Mme. de Sévigné," "George Fleming" begins a story, the Countess of Portsmouth discourses on the "Position of Women," Lady Archibald Campbell writes a Shaksperian essay on "The Woodland Gods." We mention also an article on "The Children of a Great City," and one, "The Oxford Ladies' Colleges," by a member.

Unqualified praise must be given to the conception and execution of the American edition of Dean Stanley's 'Memorials of Westminster Abbey,' which A. D. F. Randolph & Co. have brought out, with the aid of the University Press, Cambridge, Mass. It is in three volumes on large paper, bound in simple elegance; and, in addition to the rather scanty cuts of the original publication, three excellent etchings of the Abbey serve as so many frontispieces. The sixth English edition, containing the last touches of the lamented author, has been followed; and as on this side nothing more could be asked for, so the typographical accuracy assured by the printers' reputation, and the customary good taste of the publishers, here exhibited at its best, leave nothing to be desired mechanically. The edition is limited to 600 copies, but the price is moderate.

Prof. Henry Morley's "Cassell's National Library" is nearing its hundredth volume. Some

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of the latest issues have been Macaulay's essay on Warren Hastings, Father Jerome Lobo's 'Voyage to Abyssinia,' Bishop Butler's 'Human Nature and Other Sermons,' La Motte Fouqué's 'Sintram, and Aslauga's Knight,' another instalment of Pepys, Shakspere's "King John," with "The Troublesome Reign of King John" added (with some omissions) for comparison, and Beckford's 'Vathek.'

In "Morley's Universal Library" (Routledge)—a larger and more durable publication—the fifty-third number is Harrington's 'Oceana.'

Timely, in the red-backed pocket Thackeray, published by Lippincott, are the two little volumes of 'Christmas Books.'

Mr. Elbridge S. Brooks's 'Story of the American Indian: His Origin, Development, Decline, and Destiny' (Boston: D. Lothrop Co.) is well illustrated, well bound, well printed, but not very valuable. The author's intentions are very commendable; he is full of honest pity for the Indians, and writes as their chosen defender. He condemns everybody, irrespective of nationality or creed, who ever took hold of them. But this kind of impartiality is not justice. To do justice requires not only practical acquaintance with the Indians, a far greater knowledge of historical details and geographical data than the author displays—it demands a very thorough method of criticism. Of the latter the author is wholly innocent. No two instances of Indian troubles have, strictly speaking, arisen in the same manner, no two Indian wars have had the same causes.

The useful but somewhat heavy series of the Johns Hopkins publications upon municipal government has been interrupted by some studies of a less special character; and the last half of Series V. is of a different cast from most of their predecessors. No. 7 is by Dr. N. M. Butler of Columbia College, upon "The Effect of the War of 1812 upon the Consolidation of the Union." The point was worth developing, and is developed with great force and clearness. Probably few of us realize how strong were the "anti-nationalistic" feelings—we may say the anti-nationalistic reaction—after the establishment of the Constitution, among the mass of the people in the early years of the republic. And nowhere did this feeling receive more striking expression than in New England, which had been the special seat of the national sentiment. Dr. Butler gives sufficient illustration of this sentiment before the war of 1812, and then shows the contrast subsequently when "the war had ruined the particularists; it had made all nationalists, if we may use the word." This change is shown in the most interesting manner by citations (among others) from Gallatin's writings before and after the war. But the change was not permanent. New causes revived the old sentiment anew, and "the good effect of the second war with Great Britain was soon swept away by the slavery dispute." No. 8, "Notes on the Literature of Charities," and No. 9, "The Predictions of Hamilton and De Tocqueville," have already been mentioned by us. No. 10 is a translation by Miss Henrietta Leonard of the paper by Prof. Paul Fredericq of Ghent, "The Study of History in England and Scotland," noticed two years ago in the *Nation* of December 17, 1885. The translation is good and idiomatic.

The Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year ending June 30, 1887, states that the Museum connected with the Bureau is already a surprising collection of some 2,500 objects and series of objects, and that the Library contains 19,200 volumes and 60,000 pamphlets, exclusive of duplicates. An appendix is devoted to the schools of Alaska, and to Commissioner Dawson's visit to that Territory last summer after the nominal date of the Report. He had the English missionary, Mr. William Duncan, the paternal autocrat of Metlakahtla, for a fellow-passenger, and witnessed his affectionate reception by the vanguard of his new settlement on the soil of Alaska. Mr. Duncan has taken out his naturalization papers.

The Bureau's Circular of Information No. 2, 1887, is a monograph of 300 pages on "The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities," by Prof. H. B. Adams of Johns Hopkins. This valuable conspectus is confined, for details, to Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Michigan, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, and the chief colleges for women; but statistical tables at the close embrace a much larger number. Views of library interiors enhance the attractiveness and value of this Circular. The biographical particulars introduced by Dr. Adams merited an index of names.

Two papers in the (Syracuse) *Academy* for December deserve special attention. Mr. Samuel Thurber's "Aims and Methods in Modern-Language Teaching" is a vigorous criticism of culture for culture's sake, a plea for the recognition of utility in training, and an argument in favor of so ordering the high-school course as to take up the modern language before the ancient, and to enable applicants for admission to college "to *speak* French or German; to speak within a limited range, of course, but with confidence, seriousness, and dignity." A college examination in either language "should include such an exercise as the following: The candidates should listen to a short discourse in the language in question, and then should write in the same language an abstract of the context of this discourse." Mr. Thurber holds that sufficient "discipline" is attainable from the study of modern tongues, even if the differences from our own and the difficulties be less than in the case of the classics, which can neither be spoken nor written. But "if the study of a language does not lead to a practical command of the language, that study fails. It has secured some discipline, but so has the study that has led to an acquisition; and the discipline in the latter case was a better discipline." Mr. Thurber is confident that competent teachers can be found. Dr. Herbert B. Adams relates pleasantly the history of a well-forgotten attempt a hundred years ago to found "L'Académie des États-Unis de l'Amérique" at Richmond, with the aid of French funds and quasi-control. The building actually erected stood on the familiar site of the burned theatre now marked by a memorial church.

Interesting to the college world is the pamphlet 'Historical Address,' etc., printed at Cambridge, Mass., by the University Press, and containing an address by Mr. Frederick Chase and an oration by ex-Gov. Hoadly of Ohio at the centennial anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Dartmouth. Mr. Chase traced the rise of the parent society and the fortunes of its branches—that at Dartmouth having had a very languishing existence. Gov. Hoadly, passing lightly over historical details, considered the present relation of the scholar to "practical politics," and dwelt upon the alarming cost of elections, the assessment of candidates, the corrupt use of money at elections. "Boodle aldermen, bribed legislators, and Star-route thieves are the natural and inevitable result of the present system."

In 1881 Adley H. Cummins published 'A Grammar of the Old Friesic Language' (London: Trübner). We have now to note the appearance of a second edition (same publisher), much enlarged and improved. The 75 pages have grown to 128, of which 34 comprise reading lessons, glossary, and index. The introduction, upon the history of the Friesic nationality, its language, and literature, will not compare, for fulness, with Prof. Hewitt's pamphlet, but the treatment of the grammar is very ample and, in the main, quite satisfactory. The author's view (sec. 4) of *e*, as derived from *i* by a following *a*, is Grimm's old theory, no longer tenable. We regret that the vocabulary is not larger; it is barely sufficient for picking one's way through the texts with the help of guess-work from the cognate languages. In case of a possible third edition we suggest to the author that he follow Sievers's 'Anglo-Saxon Grammar' more closely as his model in phonology and in general tabulation. Siebs's article on the "Vocalismus der Stammsilben in der altfriesischen Sprache" (*Beiträge* xi, 205-261) will be of great help.

Fewer readers will certainly be found for Paul Haupt's paper, "The Assyrian *E*-Vowel," in the *American Journal of Philology* No. 31, than for any of its successors; but not according to the criterion of merit or importance. More open to the mind trained in the Greek and Roman classics are H. C. Elmer's "*Que, Et, Atque* in the Inscriptions of the Republic, in Terence, and in Cato," and Prof. Gildersleeve's brief return to the subject of the Articular Infinitive in Greek. Prof. Elliott furnishes some supplementary particulars concerning "Speech Mixture in Canada."

Westermann & Co. send us the first number of the quarterly *Orientalische Bibliographie*, edited by Dr. August Müller of Königsberg. It fills sixty-nine pages, classified under the following heads: General; Northern and Central Asia, Europe; Eastern Asia and Oceanica; Indo-Germans; Semites; Africa. Each division is succeeded by mention of significant reviews of the works which it catalogues.

Two new ventures in international bibliography deserve to be chronicled. Mr. Welter, the intelligent Paris bookseller (Librairie Française et Étrangère, 59 Rue Bonaparte), has issued a specimen number of his 'Bulletin Bibliographique International,' the "premier numéro définitif" of which is to appear on the 25th of next January, the subscription to be 3 francs 75 centimes, or, with the index, 5 francs 75 centimes, per year. The contents consist entirely of lists of current books arranged under subjects, with a special heading for announcements. The titles are given with sufficient fulness, but are not uniform, the size of the book being only occasionally stated, which is also the case as regards the place of publication. The pagination is not printed, but the published price follows each title. In general form the publication resembles the well-known 'Allgemeine Bibliographie' of F. A. Brockhaus, and it will be useful to persons wishing to receive prompt notification of Continental publications.

The *Export Journal*, "an International Circular for the Book, Paper, and Printing Trades," to quote its English title, is a monthly, of which the first number was issued in August by Mr. G. Hedeler, Leipsic. The regular departments include lists of new books, music, engravings, photographs, and maps; lists of patents, a directory of trade addresses, etc. The book-titles are brief, without pagination, but give the size, and in all cases state the name of each publisher and the price. They are arranged under language groups, and those in Greek, Russian, Finnish, etc., are accompanied by translations. The reading matter includes a series of "Sketches of Eminent Publishing Houses," the first treating of the firm of F. A. Brockhaus & Co. of Leipsic, and the second dealing with the Paris house of Quantin; useful articles relating to the exporting of books, etc., to the United States, contributed by the United

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States Consul at Leipsic, Dr. S. R. Millar; and a variety of shorter articles of interest to booksellers, librarians, and printers, while an account of the "Development of the Book-trade in Leipsic," by Dr. Oskar von Hase, of the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel of that city, is furnished as a supplement. All the reading matter is published in German, French, and English, though of the longer articles only abstracts appear in the two latter languages. The advertisements, of which there is a liberal supply, also frequently appear in polyglot. The subscription price of this useful publication is but fifty cents a year.

—The holiday number of *Scribner's* is most remarkable for its poetry, which challenges attention by its unusual quantity, its ambitious character, and its choice of subject. Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson leads off with a long narrative, in style something between Scott's metrical tales and the old unrhetorical ballad-form. It is the story of the Scotch clansman who had been warned by a ghost that he should die at Ticonderoga, but could find no one who knew the name until the night before his end, when he heard it from his Indian guide. The sort of cleverness it has reminds one of the fate of Aytoun's verse. Miss Guiney puts into Swinburnian rhyme the Roman anecdote of Tarpeia's death, not without such verbal force as is possible in grandiose and melodramatic treatment. Miss Thomas contributes also, not without grace and other fluent qualities, an arabesque of words about Atys. Mr. Dobson tra-la-las an air, rather than makes a poem; and Elizabeth Akers keeps on singing of a ship that drifted away and never came back, until one begins to think that the poem, too, has lost its moorings. There are others besides these, but these are enough. The reader who has still the habit of glancing at verses will have his fill. There is not one line in all these hundreds of measured syllables and chosen words that touches life as it now is; the picturesque accidents of some past age are the source of such slight interest as they awake. It is all no more than the simulacrum of literature. Doubtless it is the best that can be got, at any rate in such quantities; but being what it is, why make it a special feature of a Christmas number? We notice in the index the names of twenty-five poets who have contributed to the last six numbers of this magazine! There is one article, beautiful for its illustrations, especially for the Italian faces, entitled "In Florence with Romola." The stories are by Bret Hart, Miss Jewett, Mr. Sullivan, and Mr. Bunner. The last is a labor tract for the times. Mr. Sullivan, who is an artistic writer and often admirable, spoils a good beginning by an incredible and mechanical ending, forgetting that one cannot deal with the supernatural successfully and at the same time unimaginatively.

—The December *Century* has no holiday character, but it recalls the sacred association of the season by a readable and instructively illustrated sketch of the Sea of Galilee. One of the most entertaining of the articles that follow is Mr. Brander Matthews's account of the special characteristics of the leading Parisian journals and of their history and conduct, with notes on the personnel of the staffs. This will be of interest to newspaperdom, and is not likely to make the press of this country experience anything but pride and self-gratulation at the contrast. Mr. Kennan's paper on the Russian treatment of prisoners held for trial is by a long way the most important in the number. It is directed to showing that we need not assume any homicidal tendency or special qualities in the Russian people because they resort to assassination. The method adopted by the writer is simple statement of what he believes to be facts, with chapter and verse, names, dates, and places; he tells what the persecuted class suffers—not any one person's peculiar hardships, but what may be fairly taken as the common lot—and remarks at the end that to seek unreasoning revenge, direct, personal, final vengeance on some one man's life, may be criminal, unwise, and to be regretted, but is, without the shadow of a doubt, "human." We understand "murder" well enough; what it is worth while to understand a little better, in order to have enlightened sympathy with either Czar or assassin, is the "despotism" which murder is sometimes believed to temper, and Mr. Kennan is a very good teacher. It is with a strange feeling that one turns from this chapter of vivid wrong to Prof. Shields's laborious discussion of a possible union of the Protestant sects; he wishes the Episcopate to be retained in the hypothetical new national American Church, so that the clergy may secure some of their old influence and figure in the life of society. There is an established church in Russia—but the question is hardly in a stage for discussion.

—One of the most graceful of the compliments which Mr. Francis Parkman has received in France on account of his volume on 'Montcalm and Wolfe,' is from the pen of M. M. A. Héron, in a paper read before the Société Normande de Géographie at Rouen, and printed in its transactions as well as in a separate pamphlet by the author. M. Héron makes an extended summary of the events which preceded the fall of Quebec, and translates literally Parkman's account of the battle, and closes as follows:

"The work which has afforded us the opportunity of making this summary recital of these sad events is one of the most remarkable of recent times. Mr. Parkman has developed the most solid qualities of the historian; he possesses the foremost of them all—impartiality. With what art—I might almost say with what love—he has sketched the noble figure of Montcalm. And this is not the only admirable portrait in his work; those of Wolfe, the English hero, of Vaudreuil, and many others are painted with the hand of a master. He does not imagine them; he restores them, if we may use the expression, on the most careful information, and on a crowd of details most scrupulously collected. His narratives of facts and descriptions of places are constructed in the same way. Although the quality of his talent places Mr. Parkman among the picturesque historians, he leaves nothing to fancy. He is always and everywhere the exact and conscientious narrator. He has neglected nothing that was necessary to the exact performance of his duty as an historian. One may say that all the best materials have passed through his hands—published works, manuscripts, official documents of every nature contained in the American, English, and French archives, autograph letters, diaries, and other writings of persons engaged in this war, and traditions collected on the scene of action. Altogether, Mr. Parkman has written one of the most attractive histories we have had given us for many a day. One cannot lay it down after one has begun to read it, so great is the interest of the subject, and so brilliant the talent of the writer, whom the United States may well place in the foremost rank among the historians of our age."

—The compiler of the "Curiosities of Plagiarism" will have to give a special chapter to the Protean reputation of Mme. Reybaud's 'Mlle. de Malepierre.' Three years ago, in the *Nation* (vol. xxxviii, p. 277), we enumerated half-a-dozen English translations and appropriations of this romantic and thrilling tale, no one of which appeared under the original title, or acknowledged its rightful authorship. Most of these versions had the negative virtue of appearing anonymously, but Charles Reade boldly claimed the authorship of his 'Portrait,' and his example, unconsciously, no doubt, is followed by the newest appropriator, one "A. von Bosse," who calls his translation 'Das Lebende Bild.' It appears in the October number of *Ueber Land und Meer*, and the slight variations in it from the original are not improvements, as, it must be confessed, Reade's were. We may add, in this connection, that a new literal translation, with the author's name, appeared last year in London.

—The well-known Egyptologist, Heinrich Brugsch, contributes to the *Deutsche Revue* an interesting account of the Persian mystery-play of "Husain and Hasan," as acted at the Shah's theatre in Teheran. The vast hall, whose walls, inlaid with tiles of turquoise blue, reflected the light of ten thousand candles as well as an electric lantern, was filled with an audience of at least six thousand persons, all dressed in mourning. As at this time, when the religious fanaticism is aroused to the highest pitch, it would be dangerous for a European to be seen, Herr Brugsch occupied one of the closed boxes set apart for the ladies of the harem, which was carpeted, and contained a table on which were sweetmeats and a nargileh. A sermon having been preached by a mollah, an orchestra of flutes and stringed instruments played a melodious but dirge-like overture. The first scene showed the kinsmen of Prince Husain, the son of Ali, holding a conference with the ambassadors of the rival Caliph, in which the evil designs of the latter against the Prince were revealed. This was followed by the entrance of Husain himself at the head of an army and accompanied by a train of camels and dromedaries, caparisoned with red trappings and bearing closely veiled women and bales of merchandise. The marching of this host, consisting of both cavalry and infantry, with gorgeous uniforms which flashed countless points of light, was a superb spectacle. After the army had pitched its camp, the play proceeds until Husain, betrayed by his friends and menaced by his enemies, seeing that his fall is inevitable, resigns himself composedly to his fate. In vain do, first, Mahomet, then Jesus, and, after him, the Mahdi come with offers of assistance. A lion and then a tiger appear in order to defend him, but are driven away. Finally King John of Frengistan [France—is this a survival of the mediæval myth of Prester John?] enters, riding, at the head of an army, in a European coach borrowed from the Shah's stables, and followed by his wife and daughter, gayly dressed in fantastic clothes and carrying red parasols. The army consists simply of Persian soldiers, without any disguise. The infidel King offers to aid the Prince, but this unlooked-for help is also rejected. Husain is bent upon martyrdom, and his death soon follows, amid the sobs and groans of the vast audience, who, in their frenzy of grief, hurl imprecations at the murderers, and can scarcely be restrained from stoning the actors who play this part. In Herr Brugsch's opinion, the play is far superior in mere literary excellence to the Christian mysteries or miracle-plays of the Middle Ages.

—About two years ago (see the *Nation* for December 3, 1885) we mentioned a pamphlet in which Mommsen undertook, from the evidence of coins, to show that the scene of the defeat of Varus by Arminius was at or near Barenau, northeast of Osnaburg. The subject has received a fresh examination the present year in 'Die Kriegszüge des Germanicus in Deutschland'—an octavo of 567 pages, by Dr. Friedrich Knoke of Bernburg. All the German campaigns of the years 14, 15, and 16 are exhaustively discussed, all previous theories stated and examined, and the author's own views—arrived at by a careful personal study of the lo-

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calities, as well as of the authorities—stated clearly and supported by ingenious argument. The fault of the book is that it is too complete—every detail of these campaigns is narrated as circumstantially and confidently as if the author had had access to a file of newspapers of the period. For example, after showing that it is very probable that the insurrection which drew Varus from the Weser was among the Bructeri, he proceeds to take this hypothesis as a fixed fact, and, by pointing out the successive stages of the route which Varus ought to have followed, brings him to the Dören Pass, in the Osning range, south of Osnaburg. The hypothesis is in itself reasonable, and is admirably worked out in detail; only it has not a particle of positive evidence in its favor. Mommsen's words ought to be constantly in one's mind, in this and similar problems: "Mehrere Lösungen einer Aufgabe, von denen nur eine richtig sein kann, sind so lange keine, als es nicht gelingt die ausschliessliche Zulässigkeit einer derselben zu erweisen." The campaign in which Germanicus visited the battle-field of the Teutoburgiensian Forest occupies nearly half of the book. The other campaigns are treated with the same exhaustive knowledge of the literature upon the subject, the same personal familiarity with the ground, and the same arbitrary assumption of the author's premises, from which his notion of the campaigns is deduced with great perspicuity and vivacity. There are five maps. These, and the fulness of local and antiquarian detail, make the treatise very helpful to any student of ancient Germany.

ILLUSTRATED HOLIDAY BOOKS.

Engravings on Wood, by Members of the Society of American Wood-Engravers. With an Introduction and Description by William M. Laffan. Harper & Bros. Folio.

Odes and Sonnets. By John Keats. With Illustrative Designs by Will H. Low. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

The Deserted Village. By Oliver Goldsmith. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

Faust: the Legend and the Poem. By William S. Walsh. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

Masterpieces of Modern Painters. New York: A. J. Bishop.

THE volume which heads our list is unquestionably the most important and significant of the art productions of the year. The mere existence of a Society of American Wood-Engravers is a fact that marks the revolution in their art which has occurred in little more than a decade. To those who ask, What is the American School of which we hear? this collection of examples is a superb answer; and foreign artists everywhere cannot fail to be impressed by such an exhibition of technical skill, manifested not by a handful of engravers, but by fifteen, with a surprising evenness on a high level. Some well-known names are wanting from the list of contributors, but as no list of membership is given, we have no means of judging how exhaustive is the present representation. It would not, we think, have been unbecoming to publish in connection with these plates simple biographical details concerning the makers of them—the birthplace and age, the training received, etc. As it is, judging by their names, twelve are manifestly Americans or of English descent, one other may be, while two bear foreign names, and of these one is German-born. The art which they have undertaken to interpret in black and white is likewise preponderatingly American, being foreign in only two instances. The European critic of this volume, therefore, has to do with a national manifestation almost *pur sang*.

One other observation before we pass from the personnel: a woman takes her place beside her male peers. She is, we are told, the only one admitted to the Society, and this of itself is a certificate of proficiency. We are much mistaken if Miss Powell's success do not inspire other women to take up a calling which is so favorable to their sex, since it can be pursued at home under the best conditions there attainable, and at a great distance, if need be, from the scene of publication.

The plates number twenty-five in all, of varying sizes, mostly large. Twenty-three are from oil-paintings, one from a fresco by Giotto, and one from a drawing by Mr. Abbey. They all illustrate the immediate cause of the recent notable advance in wood-engraving, viz., photography upon the block. As to fidelity of interpretation, Mr. Swain Gifford is reported entirely pleased with Mr. H. Wolf's rendering of his "Roadside." And we remark that whereas our American school of painting is preëminently addicted to landscape, our engravers have here chosen in only four instances from that branch, the remaining five-sixths being from figure-pieces—pieces, at least, in which the figures outweigh the setting. Since every subject was the free choice of the engraver, this circumstance seems worth recording by the way. Finally, the arrangement of the plates is alphabetical by artists, and Mr. Bernstrom, partly from his interesting subject (Carl Marr's "Mystery of Life"), and partly from the skill with which he has handled it, opens the series with a certain distinction.

The critic here, as elsewhere, finds it hard to separate the theme from the execution. If that be flat, ungrammatical, unfashionable, repulsive, the excellence of the translator's technique is in danger of being underrated. It is safe to say that a layman casually turning these leaves would, but for Mr. Cole's reputation, pass by his rendering of Giotto with hardly a second glance. The archaic quality of the composition is not to our modern taste, and the engraving appears no less bald and formal. In selecting this cut (his only one) Mr. Cole has more conspicuously than all his associates challenged the judgment not of the public, but of the connoisseur. Mr. Laffan, who furnishes the letterpress, could not, in the nature of the case, be critical; and his discourse, much open to question in its generalities, when it comes to personal appreciation largely consists of phrases having little meaning, and mostly concerned in bestowing praise all around with as great a variety of expression as was practicable. He has, however, done no more than justice to Messrs. A. W. Drake of the *Century* and Charles Parsons of *Harper's* for their part in bringing about the revolution signalized by this volume, though we should have felt bound to associate with these names that of Mr. W. Lewis Fraser of the former magazine. We shall not attempt to pass judgment on the present collection seriatim. Two engravings—the one by Mr. Wolf, already mentioned above, the other by Mr. Frank French, likewise after an oil painting, by G. Gaul—are remarkable examples of faithful reproduction of the works of the artists, not only in color, but in the suggestion of the medium in which they are painted. In these examples the engravers have abandoned for the moment the consciousness of the skilful cutting of the line and of nice "tooling." To Mr. Wolf's achievement we assign the first place. It would be hardly possible, on a block of this size, to handle such a multiplicity of detail in a more masterly manner. We forget the line entirely, and think only of the extraordinary reproduction of the color and texture of the original. As admirable examples of dexterity in cutting the line and skill in tooling, the engraving of Mr. F. S. King after Blashfield, that of Mr. R. A. Muller after a picture by J. G. Brown, and the head of William M. Hunt, by Mr. G. Kruell, are most conspicuous. The criticism which the collection is likely to encounter from European connoisseurs is in the direction of over-refinement. The execution lacks that which foreign engravers strive to attain—boldness, originality, and daring invention in the rendering of textures. Their productions are free from the suggestion of slavish subjection to softness and sameness of line. They aim at richness of color and brilliancy of effect. The contrast is well pointed by Mr. E. Kingsley, whose two examples are marked by more originality of treatment than is seen in many of the others, but are marred by groping after smoothness of texture and by too close cutting.

Mr. Low has undertaken to fill the difficult position of Illustrator in Ordinary to that poetical king John Keats. Two years ago 'Lamia' was published with his illustrations, and it is now followed by a volume of 'Odes and Sonnets,' which in its turn is to be followed, we believe, by other volumes. The success of the 'Lamia' was so extraordinary as to make the publication of a new set of drawings by the same artist and illustrating the same poet peculiarly hazardous. The traditional ill-success of "sequels" and "second parts" was to be feared for it. As the human mind is constituted, "the same thing" becomes wearisome, even if it is a fine thing; and of a series of publications in the same vein the first will always seem to us to have been the best, because it had the freshness of surprise which its successors can never have in the same degree. One must improve in order to seem to hold one's ground. Let us hasten to say that Mr. Low is in the line of progress, and that the work in his present volume is a decided advance upon his earlier effort.

He has hardly been so fortunate in his subject as in the 'Lamia.' While the illustration of a number of short, unrelated poems gives greater scope for that "variety" so much desired of publishers, it entails a lack of the unity of impression which, in a volume like the 'Lamia,' binds the whole together, and increases the force of each drawing by that of all the others. In the decoration of a hall, each fresco helps all the others, and the effect of the whole is one; in a miscellaneous collection of pictures, each is apt to hurt more than it helps its neighbor. The present book is more in the nature of the gallery of pictures than of the nobly decorated hall, and though the pictures are all by the same hand, they are too varied in style and disconnected in subject to be helped by their proximity. The result is a somewhat scattering effect, and an accentuation of that unevenness of merit which is perhaps inevitable in such a collection of work. But this unevenness is not present in a greater degree than in the 'Lamia,' or than in most other such long-breath'd works; or, if it is more noticeable, it is from the higher plane of the better, rather than from the lower plane of the weaker parts. Many of the drawings in the 'Odes and Sonnets' are much better than any but one or two of those in the 'Lamia,' and the least good are as good as the average of those in the earlier book. Of the seventeen principal drawings to the 'Odes and Sonnets' at least twelve are above the average of the work in 'Lamia,' and several of them are better than anything in the latter.

Perhaps the best thing in the book is the frontispiece, a "Nymph" or "Flora," with arms

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full of blossoming apple boughs, in which the sweetness and charm of Mr. Low's best work are combined with a high degree of solid and accurate draughtsmanship. The naked Muse of the title-page, pure and lofty in her nudity, is drawn also with a knowledge of form and a fine severity of style that serve to make more incomprehensible the artist's occasional lapses. One of these lapses, in the drawing of the legs and feet of the little winged genius who holds the book bearing the inscription, mars the otherwise charming composition of the dedication. Of the illustrations proper, the best is decidedly that to the "Ode to Psyche," where the sleeping goddess is as lovely a figure as one is likely to find in modern art, and the next best is perhaps that to the sonnet beginning "Bards of Passion and of Mirth," in which the figure of Diana, who has very little right to be there, is so charming that we readily forgive her her somewhat unwarrantable intrusion. The purity of the nude in the hands of a true artist could find no better exemplification than in these drawings, which might well be placed in the hands of youths and virgins for their educational value. Other notable drawings are that entitled "The Eve of St. Mark," a charming figure

"With forehead pressed against the window pane,"

while she reads

"A curious volume, patched and torn,"

and that to the "Ode on Melancholy," with its interesting background of the huddled roofs of mediæval Florence, seen through a loggia with curious symbolic statues.

Mr. Low has throughout taken considerable liberty with his text, his drawings being often parallel with the idea of the poet rather than strictly illustrative of it; but this is not to be wondered at with a text so often unillustratable. Doubtless his imagination has worked the better for the freedom he has allowed it, and the results are finer than would have come of a stricter adherence to the letter of his original. When we have a volume of pictures such as these, graceful in composition, delicate in execution, and full of pure sentiment and poetic feeling, surely we need not quarrel with the artist because we cannot always see how he found the inspiration for them in the poems to which they are attached.

Besides the drawings, there are dainty floral decorations at the top and bottom of each page, and the cover, lining-paper, etc., are also designed by Mr. Low. The so-called photogravure reproductions by the Forbes Company are fairly good, the print, paper, and general make-up are handsome, and the whole book is in every way worthy to take a high place among the most sumptuous of the holiday publications.

Illustration by etching is perhaps rather commoner in Philadelphia, where the votaries of the art are numerous, than elsewhere in this country. It seldom, however, reaches the front rank, and two holiday volumes from that city now before us agree in the mediocrity of their designs. For Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village' six landscapes have been furnished by M. M. Taylor. These are not wholly devoid of feeling for nature, but there is little poetry in them, much crudity of drawing, and a general muddiness. With one exception, however, they add to the attractiveness of the book, which is well printed in large characters. "The Swain responsive as the Milkmaid sung" is, sentimentally considered, comical, and as etching the plate is the most unfortunate of the series.

'Faust: the Legend and the Poem,' also contains six etchings, by Hermann Faber, but the best are unoriginal and artificial, and the poorest absolutely uninspired. The contrast with earlier attempts by great masters is here much more cruel than in the case of the 'Deserted Village.' The accompanying text is not the poem, but an essay upon its origin and development, and an analysis of both parts. This will be found useful by many, especially as Mr. Walsh has availed himself of Engel's 'Zusammenstellung.' But his speculation about the meaning of the poem would have been tempered, for his readers at least, if he had cited from vol. vii. of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* G. Dehio's "Altitalienische Gemälde als Quelle zum Faust." Here again we have a pretty book, if the pictorial adornment is feeble.

Not much can or need be said of the 'Masterpieces of Modern Painters.' Eleven photogravures after English, French, German, Bohemian, Hungarian, and Russian painters, contemporary or very recent, fill, with the descriptive letterpress, an oblong folio, and make a seemingly attractive or even sumptuous book. The not badly imagined title-page, too, gives a number of portraits of the painters represented by their works. On examination, however, one sees that the photogravures are at second hand from engravings or even from photographs, so that distinctness and fineness of gradation are all lost, and a blurred and washed-out look characterizes the series as a whole. The selection is popular enough—Rosa Bonheur's "Horse Fair," Wagner's "Chariot Race," Frith's "Railway Station," Munkacsy's "Christ Before Pilate," Meissonier's "La Rixe," Detaille's "Defence of Champigny," and other canvases scarcely less well known; with Turner's "Ancient Italy," from the engraving.

FISHER'S CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The History of the Christian Church. By George Park Fisher, D. D., LL. D. With maps. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887. 8vo, pp. 701.

To the student of history there is no department so fascinating as that which relates to the development and the struggles of the Christian Church. Rightly considered, it touches upon every side of human activity—mental, moral, and political. To it belong the influences which moulded the barbarian conquerors of the Roman Empire, which presided over the foundation of the nations of Europe, which dominated the Middle Ages, and which have partly resisted and partly assisted the evolution of modern civilization. It concerns itself inseparably with the secular annals of every Christian state, which cannot be rightly comprehended without reference to it; and inasmuch as man's intellect and soul are nobler than the body which they control, so the history of the Church embraces not only the political growth of the European commonwealths, but the vastly more momentous topics of their spiritual and moral advance, the conceptions which have prevailed as to man's place in the universe and his relations to his Creator and his fellow-beings, and the result of these conceptions in directing his daily life. Sometimes a factor of progress, and sometimes of reaction, the influence of religion has always been potent, and no one can pretend to estimate the development of the past or to forecast the future of humanity without an accurate knowledge of that wonderful and complex organization which has manifested itself in so many aspects through the successive centuries, and which we roughly designate under the comprehensive term of the Christian Church.

As an aid to the understanding of the origin, development, and career of this omnipresent factor in modern thought and civilization, Professor Fisher's new work deserves a hearty welcome. It was a bold undertaking to present so vast a subject in the compass of a single volume of moderate size, for the author has rightly estimated his task as not confined to the external manifestations of Christianity. He classifies (pp. 2, 3) the chief topics for consideration in five divisions: (1.) Missions, comprehending the conversion of the Roman Empire, the reduction of the Barbarians, and the efforts to spread a knowledge of the Gospel throughout the world. (2.) Church polity, including the relations between Church and State, which in the Middle Ages led to the hierarchical development and the supremacy of the papacy, and in modern times has presented every variety of connection between the spiritual and the temporal authorities. (3.) Doctrine, embracing the infinite shades of belief which Christians have extracted from Scripture, and through which they have sought to explain the purposes of God and the destiny of man. (4.) The Christian Life, showing the varied influence which Christianity has exercised as a practical system of morality, controlling the lives of its disciples; and, (5) Worship, under which are comprised the successive rituals of the Church, its observance, liturgies, hymns, music, and architecture.

It will be seen that this is a tolerably extensive outline, and one which few scholars in this country could satisfactorily fill up. Professor Fisher's previous works have shown that he possesses the wide acquirements requisite to the undertaking, and the clearness of exposition necessary to render his knowledge available. Yet we cannot but regret that he should not have allowed himself a broader canvas on which to depict the infinite details that crowd each other in the presentation. In these days of microscopic research, when whole volumes are devoted to the elucidation of the infinitely little, it is a relief to meet with a competent scholar who is content with telling, not all that he knows, but only so much as he thinks important for his reader to know; but, notwithstanding this, we occasionally are made to feel that Professor Fisher is doing himself and his subject injustice in the effort at compression. It is evident that he often would fain say more than he does, that he would like to pause for a moment and amplify some point of interest, instead of barely alluding to it and hurrying on to another. He is so anxious to omit nothing of moment, and at the same time to keep within the bounds which he has assigned to himself, that he is sometimes reduced to merely cataloguing that which he would evidently much prefer to develop.

In this superabundance of material the most arduous task is that of selection. Here the personal equation inevitably becomes dominant, and probably no two persons would agree as to the relative importance of individual subjects and the proportion of space to be severally allotted to them. For ourselves, we are free to think that in this the author has sometimes made a mistake. Only four-ninths of the book are devoted to the first fifteen centuries, while five-ninths are given to the Reformation and its results up to the present day. In the earlier portion many topics of interest thus of necessity receive inadequate treatment. The marked influence of paganism and polytheism over the development of Latin Christianity is barely alluded to; the rise and results of the persecuting spirit are worthy of much fuller development than is accorded to them; the German mystics of the fourteenth century are insufficiently treated, and the cognate heresy of the Beghards or Brethren of the Free Spirit is not even alluded to. In the latter portion of the volume the controversies within the early Anglican Church are presented in much detail, while the history of Jansenism and Port Royal is dismissed with

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some bare allusions (pp. 412, 436, 442, 496, 500), which give no adequate conception of the causes and consequences of that memorable incident. So, Methodism is elaborately sketched, while there is but a meagre account of the supremely important modifications effected by Napoleon and the Revolution on the Catholic Church in its relations with the State—when, as the author remarks, "the mediæval was transformed into the modern state." It is not that we should wish the omission of anything in the portions which the author has allowed himself to expand—indeed, we know not where the student would find within the same compass the facts concerning the confused and multitudinous sects of Protestant America; but we should greatly prefer that the rest of the subject were treated on the same scale. Professor Fisher evidently has all the materials at his command, and he would perform a real service to the English-speaking peoples of both hemispheres if, in a subsequent edition, he would give them, what he is so well able to do, a complete history of the Christian Church, on a larger scale, enriched with references to the authorities.

Of course, in a book covering so vast a surface and treating of innumerable topics which have been the subject of bitter controversy, it would be easy to raise points for discussion, but this would be unfair. The author's method is necessarily dogmatic; he has no space to waste on debate, and he can only present the conclusions at which he has arrived. Even if the reader may not in all cases agree with those conclusions, he cannot but respect the learning and candor which have dictated them. The whole work is informed with a reverent and believing spirit, and its impartiality is abundantly tempered with true Christian charity.

Guatemala, the Land of the Quetzal. A Sketch. By William T. Brigham, A. M. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887. Pp. xv., 453.

MANY parts of Mr. Brigham's book certainly merit high praise. In these days, when so many books of travel and description are conceived and written and published on the fly, it is good to meet with such proof of careful investigation and matured study. Few writers have so painfully qualified themselves to treat of the unfrequented regions of Guatemala, and few have made so faithful an examination of the best literature of the subject. The 200 pages recounting Mr. Brigham's personal adventures and expeditions along little-travelled routes are of unusual freshness and interest, even if it must be admitted that his botanical knowledge and enthusiasm sometimes blind him to the limits, in that direction, which ought to be observed by a book designed for general reading, and that, at times, he indulges in a too undiscriminating transcript of his note-books. His account, too, of the foreign and domestic trade of Guatemala is of great value, and his estimate of what the country might be made to contribute to the food-supply of the world, under proper management, is based upon careful observation and inquiry. In his generous appendix he has grouped a great deal of scattered but important information, together with lists of plants and of cabinet and dye-woods, and a well-selected bibliography.

At the risk of making our commendation of Mr. Brigham's performance seem grudging, we must allude to some of the defects with which, in our judgment, his work is handicapped. His style, where he lets it alone, is not open to serious objection, but, unfortunately, he has chosen to write a large part of his book in what is neither English nor Spanish, but a washy mixture of the two. Such a dragging in of needless Spanish words—sometimes italicized, sometimes not,-usually translated (which heightens the offence), often left without hint of their meaning (and that gives his practice the appearance of mere whim)—is unworthy of an author who really has something to say, as Mr. Brigham has. It would have to be considered, in any case, as a breach of good taste; but what must be said when, as is the fact, the Spanish thus pitchforked in is very inaccurate? Mr. Brigham seldom uses more than isolated words in Spanish, but even so he manages to get the gender wrong twice (pp. 91 and 307), the accent misplaced or omitted countless times, and three common words misspelled (pp. 147, 283, and 299). In the three instances of his use of a phrase containing the preposition "for," his word is *por* where it should have been *para*. Thus to violate good taste and grammar at the same time is inexcusable. The chapter on Central American mythology might better have been omitted. Mr. Brigham confesses that he is not able to handle that subject critically, and the world does not care to have the old stories over again at the hands of one who is not. Some parts of his chapter on Guatemalan history are so epitomized as to be unintelligible; for example, he speaks of the desire of Barrios to "renew" the confederation of Central American republics (p. 291), without having intimated that it had ever been dissolved. We have also noted here two or three minor errors in statement of facts. We must refer, in addition, to the surprising number of *obiter dicta* which the author allows himself. A certain painting causes him to refer to Sheol in a way that shows him entirely to misunderstand the nature of that Hebrew receptacle of the dead (p. 89). Citing Dr. Stoll's classification of the Indians of Guatemala, which is mainly based on language, he is moved to add his opinion that, one day, there will be a classification of the tribes and races of mankind "in which language will play no part" (p. 271). He cannot state the fact that the law of Guatemala is codified, without congratulating the country that it did not adopt "the result of the tinkering of village Solons and the decisions of wiseacre judges, as is that heterogeneous mass, amorphous and illogical, the common law."

The publishers evidently intended to do the handsome thing by Mr. Brigham, and as far as paper, type, and binding are concerned, they have left nothing to be desired. In their most ambitious attempt to give the book an attractive appearance, however, they have made a sad failure. We refer to the abundant illustrations, nearly all of them from the author's photographs, which are almost all so blurred in the mechanical process of reproduction used as to be practically worthless. It is also a misfortune that in the lettering of the coat-of-arms of Guatemala, which is figured on the cover, there should appear a gross misprint.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Bastian, A. Die Welt in ihren Spiegelungen unter dem Wandel des Völkergedankens. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn.

Bastian, A. Ethnologisches Bilderbuch. Mit erklärendem Text. Berlin: E. S. Miller & Sohn.

Bigelow, J. The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin. Vol. v. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $5.

Brown, Rev. W. K. Gunethics; or, the Ethical Status of Woman. Funk & Wagnalls. 75 cents.

Caro, E. George Sand. Paris: Hachette; Boston: Schoenhof.

Chérot, H. Étude sur la vie et les œuvres du Père Le Moyne. (1602–1671.) Paris: A. Picard; Boston: Schoenhof.

Classified and Descriptive Directory of the Charitable and Beneficent Societies of the City of New York. 2d ed. The Charity Organization Society.

Craddock, C. E. The Story of Keedon Bluffs. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.

Crawford, F. M. Paul Patoff. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.

Crowninshield, Mrs Schuyler. The Ignoramuses: A Travel Story. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $2.50.

Cruger, Mary. The Vanderheyde Manor-House. Worthington Co. $1.25.

Darling, Mary Greenleaf. Gladys: A Romance. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.

Darwin, F. The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin: Including an Autobiographical Chapter. 2 vols. D. Appleton & Co. $4.50.

Footsteps of Jesus. The Peniel Series. E. & J. B. Young & Co. $2.50.

Fine Arts.

THE ACADEMY EXHIBITION.

THE autumn exhibition at the Academy contains a number of portraits, but good ones are the exception rather than the rule. "Portrait of Prof. G. L. Andrews" of the West Point Military Academy, No. 152, a fine, soldierly looking gentleman, by J. Carroll Beckwith, is good, and both the firmly modelled head and the blue coat with officers' trimmings are well painted. "Portrait of Rev. Dr. Storrs," No. 98, and "Portrait," No. 267, both by W. M. J. Rice, are clever pieces of painting, and, though somewhat monotonous throughout, are broadly handled and comprehensive, with an aspect of being complete works, and noticeable for the successful rendering of character. In "Portrait," No. 279, by Eleanor C. Bannister, a well-drawn seated figure of a gentleman in a fur-lined cloak, there is strength and vigor. The figure is well placed, and so lighted as to make the head the point of interest in the composition; and if the head itself is a trifle dry in painting, there is no such fault to be found with the hands, nor is there anything to be said in disparagement of the treatment of the drapery. These are painted simply and cleverly, and are given just the proper amount of importance to play their part in the ensemble. Mr. Stanley Middleton's "Portrait of Miss L.," No. 320, a head and bust of a lady in profile, is solid looking and luminous, and is noticeable for careful drawing. All of these are good portraits, and all of them evince knowledge of the painter's art and intelligence in exhibiting it. But besides these there are a round dozen of portraits hung about in the different galleries to which not a word of commendation can be given. It is not necessary to mention them all, but there is a particularly bad one of "Henry Ward Beecher," No. 367, by A. J. Conant, in the west gallery, and another at the head of the stairs in the corridor, "Portrait of Two Children," No. 84, by Eliot Gregory, and yet another "Portrait," No. 198, by F. Tuttle, in the east gallery. What good purpose is served by exhibiting these canvases and their fellows at the Academy exhibition we cannot imagine. The Academy's Committee of Selection should not forget that when they admit this sort of work they rob that which is really meritorious of any distinction they may be supposed to have it in their power to confer. It may be said that this is "only an autumn exhibition," but if it is impossible to hold a good exhibition in the autumn, would it not be better to have none at all?

In landscape the present exhibition makes a creditable showing. "Harvest," No. 242, by J. Alden Weir, is a delicate transcript of an effect of early moonrise in the long twilights of August. A grain-field occupies the foreground of the picture, with part of the grain cut and shocked up, and in the rising ground in the middle distance some clumps of trees and bushes are seen with the pale bluish sky behind them. It is artistic in feeling and tenderly painted, though to the realistically inclined it seems somewhat thin and lacking in decided modelling. Its chief charm lies in the feeling of atmosphere which pervades it and in the quiet repose of nature at the close of day, which the half-cut grain-field, deserted by the harvesters, and the pale moon rising over the horizon poetically suggest.

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In "Looking Back from the Beach," No. 122, a small landscape hung in the north gallery, Mr. George H. Bogert, like Mr. Weir, has taken an effect of early moonrise for a subject, but at an earlier hour. In Mr. Bogert's picture, which depicts a sandy stretch of shore with higher ground beyond towards the horizon, the sun, which is back of the spectator, has not yet gone down, as the presence of broad shadows covering the foreground of the picture while the higher banks are yet bathed in light, clearly attests. The sunlight is feeble, and tints the white sand and the herbage with the rosy glow of evening, and the eastern sky is seen still lighted up by the sun's last rays, where the full moon is slowly coming up beyond the hills. This little picture shows truth of observation and a sympathetic way of rendering the effect of nature. It is well painted and is a really subtle bit of color. In the corridor we find a fresh, breezy sort of picture of a plain with a road leading across it to a little hamlet nestled among the trees in the distance, which suggests the influence of Claude Monet somewhat in the decided frankness of some of the color, and which certainly has excellent qualities of light and atmosphere. It is painted by Mr. Joseph H. Boston, and is called "The Road to the Village," No. 52 in the catalogue. An interesting study of sunlight on the grass in a meadow with a group of trees at the horizon is "Sunlight and Shadow," No. 145, by Arthur Hoeber, whose ability as a painter of landscape is also well shown in a larger picture in the east room, "The Road Across the Moors," No. 171, a study of a gray-day effect with a clouded sky, which keeps its place well behind a line of hills darkly outlined against it. In the large landscape with sheep, "Autumn in Picardy," No. 254, by Roswell D. Sawyer, though it is hard and dry in painting, and has the effect of a mural decoration rather than a picture, there is good composition and careful drawing of trees, this last being a merit sufficiently rare in American landscape painting to make it worthy of remark. "A Summer Day," No. 298, by Edward Gay; "The Marsh," No. 303, by E. L. Field, a gray-day effect, broadly and effectively painted, but crude in color; "The Flatlands of New Jersey," No. 308, by R. W. Van Boskerck; "The Month of October," No. 346, by Bruce Crane; "A By-Road in Picardy," No. 400, by Emma E. Lampert, a picture of a roadway overarched by trees, with sunlight falling in patches on the ground; "Autumn Near Munich," No. 150, by Robert A. Eichelberger, and "November Snow," No. 300, by Walter L. Palmer, in which dazzling sunlight shining on snow and the spray of a waterfall tumbling over rocks is painted with much truthfulness of effect, are other good landscapes. In addition to these there are more or less important works by such well-known painters as H. Bolton Jones, W. S. Macy, J. Francis Murphy, William Sartain, F. K. M. Rehn, and Reginald C. Coxe, the last two of whom are represented by pictures of marine subjects.

As for figure painting, there are fewer contributions from prominent men, and what there is of them is not always of the best. Mr. Herbert Denman, whose excellent picture, "The Trio," at one of the exhibitions at the American Art Association's galleries, will be remembered, however, has undertaken a rather difficult subject in a life-size figure of a young woman in a white dress, lying at ease in a hammock out of doors, and has been in the main very successful in painting it. In this picture, "A Midsummer Day Dream," No. 310, sincerity of purpose and sobriety of execution are distinguishing characteristics. There is good honest work in the painting both of the figure and its landscape setting, which deserves hearty commendation. The tone of the white dress in shadow, like that of the head and hands of the figure, is delicate and agreeable; the more so, perhaps, because of the contrast with the light and dark greens of the grass and trees, which appear too vivid and lacking in air. However that may be, it is an interesting canvas, and one of the few important figure pieces in the exhibition.

"Tambourine Player," No. 274, by George B. Butler, a three-quarter length figure of an olive-skinned girl with a tambourine in her hands, is a picture which occupies the centre of the wall in the south gallery. The girl is excellent in character, and the artist has succeeded in getting a pleasing ensemble in his picture, though we may find fault with his methods. It is neither simple in execution nor frank and unaffected in color. It possesses, however, a quality once greatly hankered after by some of the painters in the Society of American Artists, a few years ago. It is called "tone," and is most easily attained by rubbing dirty color over clean color, and then rubbing it off and beginning over again. Others obtain it by using varnish and diluted bitumen as a medium in painting, and still others by scouring the picture with pumice stone, and then piling on more color, to be scoured off in turn when it is hard and dry. Other honest qualities are so evident, though, in Mr. Butler's picture, and there is so much in it that is good, that it is perhaps invidious to dwell on this quality. This painter's other picture, "Boy with Sling," No. 378, in the west gallery, is a full-length figure of a boy in the simplest of clothing, standing with a sling held in his hand. The figure is firmly planted on its feet, and is strongly modelled. The head is well drawn, and, like that of the "Tambourine Player," is good in character and expression. Near by is hung a picture called "The Melodies of the Forest," No. 390, by Charles E. Moss. In an exhibition which may be justly denominated "commonplace" it is refreshing to find more than one picture the object of which is the study of the nude. "The Melodies of the Forest" is a good conscientious study and nothing more, it is true, but the artist, in placing his figure in a sort of sylvan surrounding with grass and trees, and putting a pair of pipes in the boy's hands, has had the skill to do so without detracting from the effect of his study of the model. The flesh is painted in a light key, and is cleverly modelled without excessive depth of shadows.

"Evening at the Lake," No. 186, by William S. Allen, is a little picture of a young lady in a white dress seated on a boat landing on the shore of a lake. Before her the placid water, with boats tied at their moorings floating on its surface, stretches away to the distant shore, where the last rays of the setting sun light up the trees and a single white sail of a passing boat. It is a charming bit, in which the painter has struck a delightful note. It is refined in color, truthful in effect, and in every way pleasing.

"Flowers of the Carnival," No. 180, by C. D. Weldon, a picture of a childish figurante in the ballet sitting in the wings of the theatre, with flowers about her; "Fishing for Minnows," No. 114, by Dora Wheeler, a rather large canvas representing a boy and girl in a boat, which floats in the shallow water at the edge of a pond reflecting the deep shadows of trees on the further bank at the top of the picture; "Shadow Decoration," No. 327, by Charles C. Curran; "A Difference of Opinion," No. 237, by W. H. Lippincott; "Helping Sister," No. 42, by Frank A. Aiken; and "Our Camp in the Rocky Mountains," No. 238, by A. A. Anderson, in which a hunters' camp with figures, and horses, and a man skinning a grizzly bear, are realistically painted in a landscape with tall pine trees and rocky ledges and cliffs of the mountains in the distance—these are some of the most noticeable compositions by figure-painters. There are not so many flower-pieces as usual in the corridor, nor so many pictures of still life. Of the former in the present exhibition there is one excellent one, "Jacqueminot Roses," No. 67, by Matilda Brown; and of the latter, "Still Life," No. 86, by A. B. Shepley, a study of shrimps and oysters, is worth mentioning for good qualities of color.

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